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HISTORY OF TWO QUEENS.

VOL. II.

HISTORY

OF

TWO QUEENS.

I. CATHERINE OF ARAGON.

II. ANNE BOLEYN.

35760

BY

WILLIAM HEPWORTH DIXON.

VOLUME II.

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CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

BOOK THE SEVENTH.

ARTHUR AND CATHARINE.

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	HONEYMOON	1
II.	CATHARINE'S PLATE	7
III.	TO LUDLOW	14
IV.	THE SCOTS	22
V.	KING OF SCOTS	29
VI.	MARGARET'S BETROTHAL	36
VII.	LUDLOW CASTLE	43
VIII.	AT GREENWICH	50

BOOK THE EIGHTH.

CATHARINE'S PARENTS.

I.	TOLEDO	55
II.	NEW PROPOSALS	62
III.	DURHAM HOUSE	69
IV.	ESTRADA'S MISSION	74
V.	ISABEL'S ORDERS	81
VI.	A SPANISH COMEDY	87
VII.	A CHANGE OF FRONT	93

BOOK THE NINTH.

THE ENGLISH COURT.

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	KING AND QUEEN	101
II.	WORKS OF MERCY	105
III.	ELIZABETH THE GOOD	110
IV.	EDMOND DE LA POLE	115
V.	MAX AND POLE	121
VI.	THE ROYAL WIDOWER	129
VII.	WAITING FOR EVENTS	134
VIII.	THE COUNCIL	141
IX.	ARTICLES	145

BOOK THE TENTH.

APPEAL TO ROME.

I.	SEGOVIA	153
II.	BORGIA	160
III.	CARDINALS AND POPES	166
IV.	JULIUS THE SECOND	172
V.	LONDON AND ROME	179
VI.	ANOTHER DRAFT	186
VII.	GONSALVO	193
VIII.	THE VATICAN	198
IX.	MEDINA DEL CAMPO	201
X.	CASTLE ON THE MOUNT	211

BOOK THE ELEVENTH.

CATHARINE PRINCESS.

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	CROYDON PARK	217
II.	SICK OF LOVE	223
III.	REPUDIATION	228
IV.	SELF-ASSERTION	234
V.	DOCTOR DE PUEBLA	242
VI.	IN ENGLAND	248
VII.	KING PHILIP	256
VIII.	THE SPANISH SISTERS	264
IX.	HENRY TUDOR	273

BOOK THE TWELFTH.

CATHARINE CROWNED.

I.	FERNANDO	279
II.	THE CONFESSOR	289
III.	HENRY OF GREENWICH	296
IV.	A NEW REIGN	303
V.	CASE OF CONSCIENCE	308
VI.	AT GREENWICH	316
VII.	WIFE AND QUEEN	322

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS 329

INDEX 363

Book the Seventh.

ARTHUR AND CATHARINE.

CHAPTER I.

HONEYMOON.

1501.

1. Henry of Greenwich, standing near the bride, received her at the altar from the primate, and conducted her through press of peers and dames, while Arthur of Winchester stayed behind in spectral white among the crowd of lawyers, priests, and monks. Along the Gothic nave they passed; through lines of peers and ladies, in array of purple, green, and gold; of aldermen in crimson gowns, and abbots in their high pontificals; all eyes upon them, from those of King and Queen to Rede, the new Lord Mayor, and the companions of his state. Loud blasts of trumpets hailed them on the steps. A train of guns flashed out; a hundred bells gave tongue; and throats from every door and window roared a welcome to the bride. A guard, in Tudor green and white, had kept a lane

for them, and in the midst of colour, light, and music, they descended from the church, and, followed by a band of archers carrying halberds, passed into the Bishop's house.

2. Arthur stayed behind with priests and lawyers to complete the act of settlement. Before the altar, and the ashes of St. Erkenwald, with peers and knights for witnesses, he settled on his bride a third part of his goods and rents. His act was then proclaimed by heralds from the western door, on which the citizens rent the welkin with their shouts. Prince Arthur's marriage was an act of peace, and no event since Henry was united to Elizabeth of York had pleased the English folk so highly as the match with Spain. The Prince was moved by their applause, and noticing the new Lord Mayor among the crowd, he sent his steward of the household, Richard Croft, to ask him and his brethren of the crimson gown to dine.

3. Attended by his knights and squires, Charles Brandon, Robert Ratcliffe, Antony Willoughby, and Maurice St. John, Arthur passed to his apartments in the palace, where a table had been spread. The King, who treated government as a splendid art, had taken care that everything was done to make the full amount of show. A Spaniard knew the price of gold and silver ware, and that on Arthur's table, where the bride and groom sat down to feast, was worth not less than twenty thousand pounds. Ayala marked each cup and dish—the shape, the

chasing, and the mass—and Santiago was surprised to see such signs of wealth and taste in the far-northern isle. A full description of that plate was sent to Spain. With song and supper, night came down; for night comes early on November afternoons; and then the Duchess of Norfolk, Doña Elvira, and the maids of honour came in state, and took the bride away, while Arthur and his gentlemen retired into the Prince's private room. A priest was brought into the nuptial chamber, and the usual prayer being said, the youthful bride and groom were blessed according to the forms laid down by holy Church.

4. Their honeymoon was spent in state, and no one in their household had a doubt that boy and girl were truly man and wife. In street and church, at joust and ring, they were observed together, happy in each other's eyes. Among the closer witnesses of their married love were Duchess Elizabeth, Agnes Tilney, Robert Ratcliffe, Antony Willoughby, and Padre Alessandro. Bereworth kept an eye on Arthur; for the youth was not robust: and such a change of life as that from rural Eltham, where he had been living with his sister Margaret and his blind old tutor André, to excited London, with the round of masques and plays, of jousts and revels, was enough to try a stouter frame than his. From house to house, from dance to dance, the Prince of Camelot bore his youthful bride. Due show was made for them in Westminster, where the King and Queen were present, with the Lady Mar-

garet and the Duke of York. A joust was held in presence of a mighty throng; a pageant and a banquet followed in the hall; which Henry had contrived to hang with tapestry and cloth of gold, pricked out by flags and spears. He wished to make the Count de Cabra and Don Pedro de Ayala own that even in Toledo and Medina they had never seen a braver sight. The banners and devices were Arthurian, and the legends were connected with Sir Lancelot, Guinevere, and the blameless king. Courtney, the Queen's brother-in-law, rode a red dragon, led by a giant. Edward, Duke of Buckingham, appeared in armour, as a knight of Arthur's court, and challenged every one to try a lance in honour of these royal nuptials. Thomas, Marquis of Dorset, half-brother of the Queen, took up his challenge. Each was followed into the arena by a train of knights and squires, and when the rival peers had snapt their shafts, the knights and yeomen closed in fight. So brave a joust had not been seen for many a day; and Catharine was unable to decide between her knights. As Queen of Beauty, she bestowed a ring on each; conferring them as prizes they had fairly won.

5. The company retired into the palace, where a feast was followed by a ball. While Arthur, Prince of Wales, looked on, his brother Henry led his sister out to dance. A child of striking beauty, as her portraits witness, Lady Margaret divided the attention of that sparkling company with the new Prin-

cess of Wales. Though hardly twelve years old, she, too, was going to be a bride. An embassy had come from Stirling with a formal offer on the part of James, the King of Scots; an embassy consisting of Robert Blacater, Archbishop of Glasgow, Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, Andrew Forman, Postulate of Moray, and the eminent poet, William Dunbar. These Scottish gentlemen were seated in a place of honour near the King. As Henry led his sister out, a thousand eyes were bent on her—a hope of union and a pledge of peace between the two great branches of the English race. The boy and girl began to leap and reel, until the Prince, who found his robes too stiff for dancing, flung them off, and finished the performance in his jacket, to the great delight of every one who saw them, and especially of the King and Queen.

6. These days of Catharine's honeymoon were passed in scenes arranged by Henry to engage her mind and charm her eye. The Prince seemed fond of her, as lover should be of his bride. From Richmond palace, whither they retired from Baynard Castle, Arthur wrote to tell the King and Queen of Spain that he had never felt such joy as when he saw her blooming face. No woman in the world, he said, could be to him what Catharine was; and he declared that he would be to her a true and loving husband all his days. No one supposed that they were not canonically man and wife. Cabra and Ayala could not be deceived. They had Fernando's

orders not to pay the first instalment of her dowry till they learned that she was married to the Prince according to the full and perfect law of Rome. They sought for proofs; they satisfied their minds; they took the money down to Richmond; and in presence of Johannes Cañazares, apostolic notary, they paid to Henry's officers a hundred thousand crowns.

7. Their honeymoon was hardly spent in this gay round of pleasure, ere the Prince's fading cheek alarmed the Queen. Advice was taken on the point: advice of councillors, as well as of physicians; for the matter had a public side no less important than the personal side. Fernando wished the boy and girl to live beneath a common roof and always in each other's sight. He longed for heirs. As yet his dynasty was insecure. Of all his children, only one, Juana, had a son; Don Carlos, born in Ghent, and heir to an imperial throne. He yearned to hear that Arthur was the father of a Prince of Wales. The English court was no less eager than the Spanish King, and Henry was induced to close his ear on those who spoke to him of Arthur's paling cheek. He merely parted them a week or so, by sending Arthur to a country house while Catharine kept her lodging near the King and Queen.

CHAPTER II.

CATHARINE'S PLATE.

1501.

1. THE bride and groom had not been many days apart, when Henry raised the question of their going down to Ludlow Castle, where he meant his son to keep a model court, and live again the legends of his race. Old servants shook their heads. The case of Juan and Marguerite was recalled, but Henry was so much excited by his letters out of Spain, that he forgot the interests of his crown. In Spain, they would not hear of Catharine leaving Arthur for a day; and out of deference to the Spanish court the King consented that the bride and groom should go to Wales. A council and a household were selected with the utmost care. A bishop, William Smith, of Lincoln, was appointed President of the Council, and Sir Richard Pole, a near connexion of the Queen, was made the chamberlain of their household. Smith and Pole were aged men and trusty councillors. Smith was one of 'the caitiffs and villains of simple birth' denounced in Warbeck's proclamation. Pole was a man of family, who had married Margaret Plantagenet, a daughter of George,

Duke of Clarence, and a cousin of the reigning Queen. Bereworth was to travel with his patient. Ludlow, as the later Camelot, was to see a fearless hero and a loving wife within her walls. Prince Arthur and the Princess Catharine were to hold a perfect court; and prove to all the world how easily poetic legends could be melted into actual life.

2. Some baser thought was mixed with this poetic gold; some thought of how the King might gain the use, and afterwards obtain possession, of the Spanish plate. By treaty, Catharine's plate and jewels, both the vessels of her table and the ornaments of her person, were to count as portions of her dowry; to be valued and received as so much money when the last instalment should be due. A hundred thousand scudos had been paid; within a year a fresh instalment of fifty thousand scudos would be due; and in another year a third instalment must be paid. This third instalment would consist of fifty thousand scudos paid in gold, fifteen thousand scudos paid in silver plate, and twenty thousand scudos paid in diamonds and other precious stones. Demand for other terms had failed. He wished the King and Queen of Spain to give their daughter dish and chalice, ring and necklace, as became her rank, not counting them as dowry; but the King and Queen insisted that these trinkets must be reckoned as a part of her two hundred thousand crowns. He was not pleased with the affair; the King and Queen of Spain, he thought, were acting

meanly towards their child; and he was tempted to repay them in their own base coin. Unhappily, a Spanish agent was at hand to guess his wishes and to show him how to cheat the King and Queen.

3. Since Puebla came to London, though his purse was fuller than of yore, he had not changed the manner of his life. He still consorted with the low and vile. He housed with dollies and apprentice lads, and used his rank as an ambassador to screen the dens in which he lodged. Strange stories having reached his master's ears, the King of Spain had sent two spies to London for the purpose of observing and reporting what they found. These spies, Fray Johannes de Matienzo, sub-prior of Santa Cruz, and Sancho de Londoño, knight commander, had not been many weeks in London ere they drew a comic picture of the man who represented Kaizer, King, and Pope in Henry's court. According to the spies, the stories told of him in Spain were true. Puebla had taken a lodging in a mason's house; a house of evil name; in which the master made his gains by lodging common drabs and robbing fools who frequented his den. Dining at a common table with this dubious company, he paid no more than twopence for his fare. He had his freedom of the house, for which he gave his name to any of the city watch who came to search the house in quest of stolen goods. He lent small sums of money to the poor, and seized their substance to repay his loans. From nearly every foreigner who lived in

London he contrived to wring a fee. He sold his offices in the court and city, and his nearness with the King enabled him to deal in pardons, licenses, and grants. As Spanish envoy, he had jurisdiction over every Spaniard in the realm; and when a Spaniard came to him for justice, he expected and received a bribe. All this Fernando heard, and yet he had maintained the cripple in his place. Like Henry, he had need for men of various talents; and a priest who cost him nothing, and would act on half a hint, in causes which no honest man would touch, was not an agent whom he could replace.

4. If Henry used a tone of mockery in speaking of this priest, he had no wish to see a better man sent out. He could not always satisfy the cripple's greed; and he had set his face against promoting him to the episcopal bench. Not once, but many times, the Spanish doctor had requested Henry to reward his faithful service with preferment in the Church, though he was well aware that men with physical defects were not invested with the pastoral staff. The King had jested with him; saying he must reward so good a priest, and asking which he would prefer, a benefice or a wife? Puebla had been coy. 'Why not a bishopric?' Henry had rejoined: 'for who would grace a mitre with a finer portliness of frame?' Too obviously the King was laughing, and the cripple had refused to look that way for payment. Then a wife had been proposed; a rich and buxom widow, who might be a comfort to

him in his lonely state; but Puebla had been married once before, and having children living, had no mind to take a second wife. He had another and a better plan. A procurator in the Roman court had given him a thousand crowns to get a letter from the King of Spain to Alexander the Sixth, recommending that official for a Cardinal's hat. Puebla had not been able to procure that letter from his master, and the procurator was requesting him to pay that money back. Would Henry give his vacant mitre to that procurator, and in that way cancel Puebla's obligation for the thousand crowns?

5. 'Your Grace shall see,' said Puebla to the King, 'how much I take pains for you, in what I have obtained from my sovereign lords.' He held a letter in his hand in Spanish. 'By this letter you will learn that the thirty-five thousand ducats which you are to receive in jewels, pearls, gold, silver, and tapestry, in the last instalment of the dowry, will be given to you at once.' The King was taken by surprise. If Puebla spoke the truth, he was to get a portion of the dowry long before the sum was due. The gain to him was clear, and when the bridal feasts were done, he sent for Juan de Cuero, keeper of the Spanish plate, and bade him hand it over to an English keeper. Cuero said there must be some mistake. His orders from his master were precise. He was to have the plate and jewels weighed and priced; to get receipts from Henry for their value; but he was

to keep them in his hand, and hold them under lock and key, until the third instalment should be due. Enraged at this rebuff, the King called Puebla to his cabinet. Was he, or was he not, to have possession of the plate? Must he be told to give receipts for vessels which remained in Cuero's hands? Puebla affected to be sorely grieved. In zeal for Henry's service he had read his letter wrongly. Yes; the plate must lie in Cuero's keeping; but he whispered in the royal ear, that this arrangement might be better for the King than any other they could make. The plan of which they had been speaking might have given the King possession some few months earlier than the stipulated date, but the plan he had to offer now would give him Catharine's jewels, not as part and payment of her dowry, but as something like a present from the King of Spain.

6. Suspecting that the priest was trying, for a purpose of his own, to draw him into taking up a false position, Henry waited. 'If your Grace will keep my secret,' Puebla whispered, 'I will tell you how it is that I, your servant, have arranged this matter so; and if your Highness will accept my services, I promise to conduct affairs in such a fashion that the Princess shall keep her jewels, plate, and tapestry,' and my sovereign lords shall pay their price to you as well.' A ruler worn in worldly ways could hardly hear such words without a start. 'The plan is this,' said Puebla, shortly. 'Let the

Princess wear these jewels on her person, let her use these cups and covers on her table. She will learn to treat them as her own. The time for payment comes; you will refuse to take them as her dowry—as you have a right to do. My sovereign lords will not, for very shame, be able to remove the dishes from her table and the jewels from her neck. Your Grace will get the money and the plate.' As Henry looked incredulous, Puebla whispered, 'I have spoken with the Princess; she will act with us; the business can be done as I have said.'

CHAPTER III.

TO LUDLOW.

1501.

1. ACTING on Puebla's hint, the King pursued a course which Puebla would have envied, as a master-stroke. First, he went to Catharine's chamber, to remove, by smiles and phrases, the effect produced upon her mind by his demand on Cuero for her plate. Finding Elvira and Ayala in her room, he caught them to his sleeve, and spoke to the dueña and the proto-notary of all that he had said and done. Aware how much Elvira and Ayala hated Puebla, he delighted them by saying that the envoy was to blame for everything that was going wrong. He was to blame, and no one else. Turning to the Princess, he went on: 'My lady daughter, although it might be well for you and me, if it were done as Puebla said it would be, and your parents gave you these things without counting them, yet I am not inclined to seek for an advantage. I am sorry to have asked your servant for the plate. I see there was a crafty scheme, but no one shall allege that it was mine. I am content to stand upon the treaty, and I beg you will inform the King

and Queen that it was Puebla's error,—perhaps a wilful error, meant to trick us all. No thought of asking for your plate had ever come into my mind till Puebla spoke to me. He must have had some wicked purpose in his heart; it was an artful trick; and he has doubtless told some other lie in Spain. It seems to me a heavy breach of trust. I beg of you, my lady daughter, and of you, Elvira, and of you, Don Pedro, to inform their highnesses of the truth. I would not have them think of me as one who asks for what is not his due. God be praised, I am not in want. If need were to arise, I might, for love of them, and of my daughter, spend a million of gold and not go into debt.' Assured that things would be reported well, he left them; and began to shape his means for carrying Puebla's plans into effect.

2. An easy way was to allow the Prince and Princess to keep house together; using Catharine's cups and dishes for the common table; but in such a way that this result should seem to spring from accident, and not from choice. He thought this easy plan would suit him. Every one had heard that Arthur was to live in Ludlow. Every one at court was busy with the details of his journey and his settlement. It was a great affair, and needed time to perfect. Smith, his president, was helping to select the members of his council. Pole, his chamberlain, was helping to select the officers of his household. Both were men of such repute and station

that a crowd of knights and gentlemen were anxious to take service under them. Smith was Chancellor of Oxford University as well as Bishop of Lincoln. Pole, a Knight of the Garter, was the husband of Lady Margaret, the Queen's first cousin of the royal blood. No little had been done, and few could tell how much remained to do before the Prince could take his leave.

3. If groom and bride were sent away in haste, in seeming deference to Fernando's wish, it might be said that Arthur's household were not yet prepared, and Pole would need the use of Catharine's plate. The first step was for Pole to get her silver into daily use. Ayala was invited to the royal closet, where the King requested his advice. By usage of his realm, he said, the Prince should pass some months of every year in Wales. The details of his journey were arranged; but in the privy council there were two opinions as to whether he should go alone. The matter was so grave, that he could hardly see his way; for while his prudence as a father would have led him to agree with those who argued that the Prince should go alone, his love for Catharine and his deference to the wishes of her parents drew him to the side of those who would not part the groom and bride. What was Ayala's view? Ayala was not caught. Of all the men who came near Henry, he could see most clearly through the royal mind. He knew what Henry wished—that he, the Spanish agent, should insist on Catharine going

to Ludlow; so that Pole might say there was no time to form a separate household, and the Spanish plate would have to be employed. Ayala answered dryly that he thought it might be wiser for the Prince to go alone.

4. Unable to entrap the proto-notary, the King went back to Catharine, whom he told of Arthur's journey into Wales, the court and state he meant to keep at Ludlow, the advice of some that he should go alone, the doubts which troubled him as king and father, and his wish to please her in the whole affair. What was her will? He meant to leave her free. If she desired to go, she should. He loved her, and he would not interfere. He had no will but hers, whatever councillors and doctors might suggest. Of course, he had his fears, but in a case so near to her, she must decide what she would do. He only sought to know her mind. Would she prefer to go? She answered that *his* will was hers; that she had no ambition save to please him; that he must decide for her, not she for him; that what he fixed must surely be the best. So meek an answer was but little to his taste. He wanted Catharine to be high and proud. He begged her not to leave this choice to him; for though he loved her well, and hoped to please her always, he might miss her secret mind, and cause her to regret that she had put her trust in him. But Catharine would not say a second word. Annoyed at this repulse, he set his son, the Prince, to work on her.

Then Arthur begged his wife to see the King, his father, and procure his leave for her to go; but Catharine, acting on Ayala's orders, told her husband she must leave this matter with the King. Four days were spent in these intrigues, and then Ayala heard, through agents in the court, that orders were being given for Catharine's journey into Wales, and that the Prince and she might leave at any hour. He heard, too, that the King was counting on the plate and jewels being carried down by Catharine for her ordinary use. Again, he spoke to Henry on the subject, calling in Elvira to confirm his speech. Elvira backed him, not as tendering an opinion of her own, but as a servant of her sovereigns, who had given her orders what to say. Ayala and Elvira told the King their sovereigns would prefer that Catharine should remain at court, and that the Prince, her husband, should reside in Wales alone. The King professed to be amazed; they must have read their letters badly; for his chief inducement to admit her going to the country was a strong entreaty of the King and Queen of Spain, conveyed to him by their most trusty agents, not to part their daughter from his son. These men of trust had told him that if Arthur went to Wales alone, the King and Queen would be incensed, and Catharine in despair.

5. Who could have told his Highness such a tale? At first, the King refused to say. Ayala grew more eager. On the point being pressed, he

answered that he got his information from the Spanish chaplain and the Spanish envoy. Taken by surprise, Ayala held his tongue. Too well he knew his royal patrons not to fear that they were working out their schemes by double agencies and crooked paths. If Alessandro had been told to speak, as Henry hinted, he was likely to have spoken for the Queen. He was her officer. He had served her long, and knew the secrets of her heart. If Alessandro had been urging him to send the Princess into Wales, he must have done so by the Queen's express command. To save the Spanish plate, Ayala had been venturing somewhat near the brink. If Henry were to take him at his word, and let the Prince depart without his wife, the Queen, her mother, might reprove his zeal. The ground beneath his feet was loose. What could he do, save write for fresh commands? In long and secret cyphers to the Queen, he poured out all his fears. He told her Highness everything. He more than hinted that Doctor Puebla was a scamp, and more than hoped that Padre Alessandro might be called to Spain. This honest priest was not a man for courts.

6. Until Ayala got fresh orders out of Spain, his hands were bound, and Henry could dispose of Catharine and her flagons as he pleased. He settled she should go to Wales. Before she left, the priests and soldiers who had come with her from Spain were called to court and thanked with royal words

and gifts. Cups, rings, books, pictures, were bestowed on every one. At last, they took their leave, and having done their duty, rode away; Fonseca going straight to Spain by sea, while Cabra went by way of Calais to the Archduke's court. When they were gone, the Princess sank; but Henry knew the way to soothe such girlish griefs. He took her to his cabinet, where he showed her, first, his books and prints, all rich with rare conceits and humours, and, at last, a tray of rings and bracelets. She was told to choose her own, and when her choice was made, the rest were given as compliments to her maids.

7. On Tuesday morning, December 21st, the Prince and Princess rode away from London. Every day they held a feast, and every night they slept beneath a sacred or a noble roof. A change was made among the officers of Catharine's household, which was gall and wormwood to the principal lady of her suite. Manrique, her first chamberlain, quarrelled with Cuero, second chamberlain and keeper of the plate. Pedro Manrique was Elvira's husband; Elvira was of noble birth; and Pedro could not brook the insolence of a second chamberlain. Both officers were in the wrong; and Pole, who had a grudge against Manrique, seized the moment of their quarrel to degrade them both. Elvira could not save her husband from the ire of Pole. Instead of chamberlain, Manrique was degraded to the rank of usher. From the post of

second chamberlain, Cuero was reduced to that of second usher. Pole, now chamberlain of both the households, took upon himself the management of every one about the royal pair. He had no further trouble with the Spanish plate. A merry Christmas met them on the road; and through the Christmas days they rode on happily towards their castle in the border land. One trouble only seemed to lie on Arthur's mind. His sister, Lady Margaret, the playmate of his youth at Eltham, was in London, in the midst of ministers and prelates who were wrangling with each other on the policy of sending her to Stirling as a Queen of Scots.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SCOTS.

1501–2.

1. THE coming of ambassadors from Stirling to arrange a match with Lady Margaret caused an eager curiosity in London as to what the Scots were like, and as to what the suitor, James, their King, was like? The truce was known to be unpopular beyond the Tweed; where hatred of the English court and people was at fever heat. The King of Scots was called a popular prince; yet in this business of an English marriage he was marching in the teeth of every passion in his realm. Would all these passions yield before his strength of will? What sort of men were they whom he would have to force? Few Londoners knew anything about the Scots, except as enemies; a rieving, thieving crew, who burst from year to year into the peaceful English shires, accompanied by savages more treacherous and ferocious than themselves; and who, when beaten back into their mountain lairs, spat forth their venom in satirical pasquils and lampoons. Their rhymes, in truth, had roused more enemies than their raids. A Saxon, who could answer blow

with blow, was far less nimble in abusive phrases than a Scot. One biting word had drawn an army to the north, and led to acts of vengeance on the Tweed. Instead of treating satire as the fence and play of men denied the use of nobler arms, an English courtier treated it as the venom spat by starving wolves. A citizen who had never seen his kinsmen of the north, was apt to think of them as no more human than a savage beast. These Scots, however, who had come to London seemed of other type. Robert, archbishop of Glasgow, was a man of dignified appearance. Bothwell was a gallant soldier. Forman was a scholar of the highest class. What sort of land and people had these gentlemen come to represent ?

2. Ayala had described that country and that people for the King of Spain, and Trevisano had repeated part of his description for the Doge of Venice. With a few additions here and there, that picture of the Scots, when they appeared by deputies in Henry's court, will place them bodily before the reader's eye.

3. A wild and singular region was inhabited by these Scots. Their country was without a frontier and an outline. Lifted into mountain crests, and channelled by two stormy seas, with stretch of heathery moor and sweep of shining friths, she seemed to every one who had to climb her heights and cross her lakes, the picture of a lovely, scattered, and forlorn estate. From south to north, she lay

extended on a line as long as that from Malaga to Roncesvalles, but not a little of her kingdom lay below the levels of her lochs and seas. Deep lakes filled in her valleys, Friths ran up into her inland shires. Great passages of sea divided town from town. A group of isles and islets, tempting to the pirate, stretched from Cantire in the Irish waters to the almost arctic Unst. These isles were not all tenanted by man; but sixty-four of them were held in fee; and many of the isles had herds of sheep and swine. In time of war each isle lay open to attack; in time of peace each isle required some outlay for defence. Across the water dwelt a race of jarls and pirates, who, from ancient days, had scoured these northern waves in search of prey. If rye ran short in Bergen, or if seals were scarce in Tromsö, they had always put to sea and swept these islands bare. No force could stay their ravages. The islets lay too far apart for mutual help; and often, on account of local feuds, the settlers of one islet joined the strangers in their raid against the next. Nor was the mainland easier to defend and cultivate than the isles. Great ridges separated town from town; deep lakes and perilous friths divided shire from shire. A road was hard to make, and harder still to keep. The only open ways were water-ways. Bleak ridge, dark moor, and pathless glen shut up the country from itself, and yet, by a caprice of nature, almost every city in the land lay open to an enemy who came by sea.

4. Four races occupied this region; Saxon,

Briton, Scot, and Pict; four races which had hardly anything in common, save their Catholic faith and hatred of the English name. The Saxons were the ruling race. A Saxon wore the crown, and Saxons held the principal royal fiefs. The Saxons occupied the capital, the sea-ports, and the lowland shires. Beside these Saxons stood the Scots, an Irish tribelet, who had swept across the land, and stamped their name into the soil. The Scot was found in every shire; a hot and stalwart fellow; quick in love and ire; and ready to protect his own. Along the sea-coasts, from the Mull of Galloway, to the farthest isles, the Picts still lingered as a separate people, keeping up their ancient customs; and in every county there were remnants of the still more ancient Gaels. In English eyes, a Scot, a Briton, and a Pict were one; a beast of bony frame, of unkempt head, of filthy habit, and of greedy maw. All strangers in the country took this English view, and spoke of Briton, Scot, and Pict, as savages who lived in lonely glens and distant isles; who brayed and barked in uncouth dialects; mere mules and mastiffs to their Saxon lords. The fire and grace, the wit and valour, the fidelity and humour, the delight in ancient ways and reverence for an unseen power, which mark these races, each and all, were little in the masters' eye. Few Saxons learnt the Gaelic tongue, and fewer conned the treasuries of Gaelic verse. As yet, the English people had not come to see how

well the fancy and the pathos of these ancient tribes would blend with the aggressive and enduring qualities of the younger race. The solvent of a common speech was still unsought; the solvent of a common rule was still unfound.

5. A stranger, living at the capital, would seldom see these ancient and poetic clans, who lived away from towns, and made, as yet, no figure in the court. The fertile lowlands of the south were held by men of English stock, who spoke some dialect of English speech. In other days, these districts had been parcel of a Saxon kingdom. Saxon laws and usages prevailed in them; and Edinburgh, the capital, was as much an English town as York. When the old kingdom of Northumbria had been rent asunder, and a second border had been cut between the Solway and the Tweed, the men of this new border line had added to the bitterness of ordinary frontier feuds the passions of a people who are close of kin. A hundred times the border had been swept, and what was meant by border, in the larger meaning, is the country stretching from the gates of Stirling to the Yorkshire wolds. Sometimes the farms were stript of kine and sheep, and sometimes they were scorched of tree and shrub. From year to year, from reign to reign, this waste of life went on. No little of the lowlands had become a desert, which the hinds who lived by trapping game were glad to share with packs of wolves. A rage that knew no bounds had come to

burn between these brethren of a former state. To live within the border was to live beyond the law. Not only farms and villages were spoiled, but convents were profaned and churches robbed. Although these lowlanders were men of English race, religion seemed to have no power upon them; for a gang of men-at-arms would ravage Melrose and Holyrood whom no persuasion could have moved to touch an English shrine.

6. The towns were few in number and were poor in population. All the towns save one were open; for the King could never trust his subjects with their own defence. Edinburgh had barely twenty thousand souls within her gates, yet she was far ahead of Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Perth. The elder capital, Perth, had about six thousand inhabitants. Glasgow and Aberdeen had under two thousand each. But if the towns were small, the houses in these towns were built of stone, and what was then uncommon, even in France and Italy, had proper doors and windows filled with glass. Each house had its own chimney; and a cunning eye, familiar with the mansions of Toledo, Rome, and Paris, found in Scottish houses an abundant share of arras, furniture, and plate. A close connexion with the court of France had introduced French luxuries into the house, French idioms into the language; but Ayala noticed in the Scottish houses that the better sort of furniture was old, and had been handed down from sire to son.

7. Three towns in Scotland were already Universities: St. Andrews, Aberdeen, and Glasgow; and the people of that country set a store on learning far beyond their neighbours in the South. More men of high repute were to be found in Scottish than in English towns. Dunbar was peerless. Few professors stood so high in science as Hay and Annand. Hector Boeis and Gawain Douglas left behind them memorable names. Nor was the fame of Scottish science less renowned abroad. Alesse held the chair of theology in Leipsig, Dempster held the chair of philosophy in Paris, Scrimzeour held the chair of civil law in Geneva, Dickson held the chair of theology in Pavia. Many Scots, like Ferne and Gregory, were doctors of the Sorbonne. Sixty-three great abbeys,—such as Dryburgh, Kelso, and Holyrood,—with a yet greater number of inferior houses, testified the popular piety. Each abbey had a king for founder; and the lesser houses had their properties and rents. The clergy, as a learned class, enjoyed much power. Although the land was poor, she had two archbishops, eleven bishops, and more than sixty abbots, all of whom had good estates. In order to compete with these great prelates, men of secular rank, the Humes and Campbells, Kennedeys and Carrs, were forced to study hard, and gird themselves with arts as well as arms.

CHAPTER V.

KING OF SCOTS.

1501.

1. THE King of Scots was twenty-eight years old; a man of clear complexion; neither tall nor short, but of a noble height, and handsome as a king need be. His hair and beard were long, for he had neither clipt nor shorn them, and the fall of curling locks became him well. A master of the French and Latin tongues, he also spoke Italian, English, Dutch, and German. Nay, he understood Castillian, and was pleased when any one addressed him in that idiom. He knew the language of his savage subjects in the mountains and the isles. A Scottish prince had need to be a prodigy of speech. The ordinary Scottish idiom was as unlike English as Aragonese was unlike Castillian; and the language of his savage subjects differed from Scottish as Biscayan differed from Castillian. James knew everything. He had read his Bible much, and made a fair acquaintance with some other pious books. Histories were his pastime; histories in the French and Latin tongues; the best of which he had perused. He kept all precepts of his Church.

Before he saw a man on business in the morning, he would hear two masses. Nothing would induce him to eat flesh on Wednesday and Friday. He was fond of priest and monk, and, more than all, of an observant friar. St. Francis was his model of a working saint. To an observant friar he listened for advice; to an observant friar he made confession of his sins. The friars were in his chamber and his ante-room; about him when he slept and when he woke. To an observant friar he gave the abbot's mitre and the bishop's staff. Yet neither piety nor learning could be called his special note. Some other princes were as pious and as learned as the King of Scots. The special mark of James — distinction rarer in his day than love of letters and respect for holy things — was an imperious loyalty to his spoken word. A man of truth, he made a personal religion of adherence to his pledge. So scrupulous was he in his speech, that he would hardly make a joke, if it appeared to cover and conceal a lie. To the amusement of diplomatists grown hoary in deceit, he tried to do away with royal oaths. A king, he thought, should never swear. His word should be his bond. A king, in virtue of his royalty, was raised above the sphere of lies, and since he could not break his word, why should he bind himself by oath? To swear was to adopt a vow more binding than a spoken word, and to confess that fear of shame was not so strong as fear of hell.

2. His government was that of every feudal prince; a military lordship, tempered by the right of mutiny; a right which his lieutenants were not slow to use. The land was his; the folk were also his; but fear restrained him from abusing his paternal trust. A king of Scots could do anything he liked, except prevent rebellion breaking out. The history of his house had been a tragedy. His father, James the Third, had been murdered as he lay in bed. His grandfather, James the Second, had been killed in border wars. His great-grandfather, James the First, had been assassinated in a Dominican convent. Upwards, into the remotest ages, it had always been the same. A king of Scots had been required to wear his crown and life upon his sword.

3. In physical courage, James was like a dog that flies at every object, even a shadow, in his path. When Surrey led an army to the north, he sent that English peer a challenge, offering to fight him, hand to hand, for Berwick. Surrey had no power to wager Berwick, and declined the combat, saying he was Henry's soldier, and was not at liberty to risk his life; but when the war was over, and his troops were gone to England, he would fight his Grace on either horse or foot. James was too hot of blood to be a prudent leader. At the clang of horns, he drew his sword, and dashed into the fight, forgetting that his duty was to watch and speak, and that the safety of his troops depended on the coolness of his head. Ayala followed him to the field, in order to restrain

his headlong speed. At every blast he started to his feet. Ayala caught him by the skirts and held him back. 'My subjects serve me in my quarrels, whether they are just or unjust,' he observed, in answer to the Spaniard; 'so that, when they risk their lives, I ought to show myself in front.' When war was done, he loved to hunt and shoot. No carpet chase was his, but rough and hungry mountain toil. By day he stalked the Highland deer; at night he slept in some poor herdsman's lodge. His power of abstinence surprised the Spanish priest. 'I never saw a man so temperate out of Spain,' Ayala wrote. He got up early, ate but little, drank still less, and worked at business hard and late. Quick, hardy, heady, and accomplished, James was every inch a Scot, and fit to be a king of Scots.

4. The nobles of his kingdom, many of them poor and proud, with thoughts too high for their restricted fortunes, were compelled to follow him for largess. Civil strife had cut down many a duke and earl, and James had the disposal of these ancient fiefs. Four duchies graced the Scottish crown. Of these four duchies three were vacant, and the fourth was held by Ross, a younger brother of the King. Twenty-five earldoms graced that crown; of which no less than nine were vacant, and two were held by a second brother of the King. The crown was therefore rich in fiefs, although so poor in coin that James had more than once to melt the chalice from his table and the collar from his neck. Intriguers were at

work on every side of him. High dignities were only to be got from James through fear and favour; daunting him by frown of armed men, and dazzling him by light of lovely eyes. The Humes and Hepburns tried the first; the Kennedeys and Drummonds tried the second. Each and all succeeded in their quest.

5. Sir John Drummond placed his daughter, known in song as 'Bonnie Margaret,' in James's way. The house of Drummond had already given a queen to Scotland. Drummond was connected with the highest families, but not a member of those families tried to snatch his daughter from the King. The rough old Pictish ways were common, and at Stirling Castle no one dreamt of saying that an amour with the King was wrong. In every country-house, the monarch found bewitching women and complacent knights. Sir John became Lord Drummond of Stobhall, on the River Tay, and afterwards of Drummond Castle in the valley of Strathearn. Bonnie Margaret bore the King a daughter, whom he openly adopted as his child. Accepted as a member of the royal house, this daughter of Bonnie Margaret lived to marry the Earl of Huntly; but her mother held no undisputed reign. Mary Boyd allured the King away, and in a fit of penitence, James returned his favourite to her home, and married her to another man. This rival bore the King a son, Alexander, who was afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews, and a daughter, Catharine, who lived

to marry James, third Earl of Morton. In his fit of penitence, he also married Mary Boyd to one who offered her his hand. 'The King gave up his love-making,' says Ayala, 'as well from fear of God as fear of worldly scandal, which is very much thought of here.' But James was soon himself again. James Stuart, Earl of Buchan, had a daughter, Lady Isobel, who found some favour in her kinsman's eyes. She bore a daughter, Janet, to her royal lover, and retained an interest in his heart for many years. The former favourite, Bonnie Margaret, was recalled, and Drummond reappeared at court. 'They favour his intrigues,' Ayala wrote in reference to the Scottish nobles, 'in order to subject him to their will.'

6. Kennedey, Earl of Cassilis, being jealous of these Drummonds, who were boasting that the King would marry Bonnie Margaret, induced his daughter, Lady Janet Kennedey, to try and steal away his heart. This Janet, lovely and unscrupulous as a witch, had flung away her maiden fame before she knew the King, and lived a life of shame with that Archibald, Earl of Angus, who was known at court as Archibald Bell-the-Cat. She lay in wait for James as he was going on a pilgrimage to St. Ninian's shrine; a favourite time and place for carrying out her father's plot. She carried off the prize, and Margaret lost her empire in the King. This wicked Lady Janet reigned a longer time than any other woman, saving gentle Lady Isobel. Her children, James and Janet, bore the royal name of Stuart, and the royal

castle of Dernaway was settled on her while she lived entirely for the King.

7. A strange event—a mystery, if not a murder—brought the flood of passion for his early favourite, Bonnie Margaret, back to James, but in a form to chasten and subdue the wanderings of his life. That lady, being at Drummond Castle, with her sisters, Sybil and Euphemia, was at the breakfast-table, when she felt a curious qualm. She rose from table. She was ill. Her sisters rose; they too were ill. No leech could do them good. At dawn they were in perfect health; at sundown all the three were dead. Much haste was made to get them under ground; their uncle, Walter, Dean of Dunblane, removing their remains from Drummond Castle where they died, and burying them in his cathedral, where their ashes could not be disturbed by order of a secular judge. The King was stunned. No clue has yet been caught by which the mystery can be traced. The Kennedeys were long suspected of the deed, and Janet's witcheries could not clear away the doubt from James's mind. He fetched his child by Bonnie Margaret to Stirling Castle, and he paid for daily masses to be said and sung in the cathedral for his favourite's soul.

Such were the country and the man for whom the Scottish envoys were to offer peace and to prepare a match.

CHAPTER VI.

MARGARET'S BETROTHAL.

1502.

1. OUTSIDE the city wall, among the trees and swards of Clerkenwell, arose an abbey church, with belfry that arrested every eye, and carried the attention of a stranger from the tower and pinnacle of St. Paul's. The abbey stood on rising ground, above the River Fleet; the belfry, though of English shape, was graven, gilded, and enamelled in the richest Oriental style. From every height round London that imposing church and shining belfry could be seen, and he who caught the radiance was enjoined to turn in reverence towards the Holy Land, and pray that God, in His good time, would heal those schisms in the Christian commonwealth which gave the grave of Christ into the power of infidels and Turks. Around this abbey church were grouped the buildings of a great religious order, that of the Knights-hospitallers of Jerusalem, whose special patron was St. John. Among these buildings were a prior's house, a hostelry for guests, a farm, a court, a burying-place, and lodgings for a regiment of knights. These piles were rich in story as in

aspect. Founded by Count de Briset in the days of Godfrey de Boulogne, the abbey had been consecrated by Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and burnt to ashes in the times of Cade. Rebuilt by many patrons—for the monkish knights were high in favour, and especially with noble dames—the priory became a sort of royal court, where princes came to lodge and councils met on state affairs. This priory had been connected in a special manner with the Henries. Under Henry the First it had been built. Here Henry the Second had received the messengers of Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, who came to offer him an Eastern crown. Here Henry the Third had lodged his daughter-in-law, Elinor of Castille. The fourth and fifth Henrys had both resided in the priory of St. John. Nor was the reigning Henry minded to forget this hospital. Since his accession, he had sought to make the Prior a personal friend and counsellor, and he was busy with a plan for adding to the size and beauty of the abbey church.

2. While the ambassadors from James were on the road, his Prior, Father Kendal, died. The Prior's house was empty, and the King, in his desire to do these envoys courtesy, lodged them in this home of kings. A dry and healthy place, though rich in wood and water, was the monastery of St. John. A river bathed the garden slopes. Green meadows lay in front; the noble convent of St. Mary stood behind. Two great monastic houses, Charter House

and St. Bartholomew, lay between them and the city wall. The priory was a palace, and connected, in remembrance with a former King of Scots. Here Alexander, when a Prince, had been received by John, and knighted at the Prior's board. In every way the Scottish ministers were fittingly and nobly lodged.

3. Deane, Archbishop of Canterbury, Fox, Bishop of Winchester, and Thomas, Earl of Surrey, were appointed a commission to confer with Blacater, Forman, and Bothwell, on the terms and details of the match. Much riding to and from the priory was needed, for the matters to be settled by these agents were of many kinds. Grave councillors urged objections to the match on principle. The English lines might fail, in which event the English crown would go to Lady Margaret's son. That son would be a Scot in birth and training, and the kingdom would become an appanage of the northern crown. These words amused the King, who studied policy as a science. 'If the thing you fear should come to pass,' he answered, 'England would annex Scotland, for the greater always draws the less.' To every one who, urged by ancient rancour, spoke against the Scots, he said, 'It is a safer match than that of France.' Some pride of place came in to cause delay. The English councillors insisted on a declaration that the King of Scots had begged and prayed for Lady Margaret, and that the King, her father, had with much ado been brought to grant his suit. The Scots endeavoured to avoid this plea. There were

disputes about the dowry, the establishment, the journey, and the time of marriage; and the Scottish agents needed some repose among the tombs of ancient knights, and in an atmosphere of monks and nuns.

4. But they were not allowed to live among these tombs of ancient knights, and in this atmosphere of monks and nuns. A younger world came knocking at their door and asking to be made a partner in their toils. This younger world was of the Boleyn stamp; new men, enriched by trade and enterprise; the citizens of Cheape and Lombard Street, who cared but little for the tombs of ancient knights, and nothing for an atmosphere of living monks and nuns. The City knights were not then carpet knights. In forty years no less than fifteen Lord Mayors had been knighted on the field. John Shaw, whose term had just expired, had been created knight and banneret by a sovereign sparing of rewards. Yet they were men who loved to sheathe the sword, and hang the firelock on its rack. If an invader pressed the soil, the City bands were ready to go out, but they had no desire to harry and destroy the border shires. The world had grown too vast for these old feuds and thefts. A herd of kine was nothing, and the plunder of a town not much, to men who were engaged in opening ports from Cuba to Cathay. Their hopes were with Columbus in his caravels. They talked of Pinzon, Cabot, and De Gama. They were brisk with work and trade,

and spent their energies in building ships, in selling produce, and in settling desert lands. Alert and open to ideas, they were listeners in their leisure hours to men like Wycliffe, and the City wards in which these merchants lived were hated by the monks and priests as strongholds of the Bible-men.

5. A good example of his class, Bartholomew Rede, Lord Mayor, invited the commissioners to a City feast. Like Capel, Coke, and Jocelyn, his immediate neighbours, Rede was an example of a class who filled their coffers, founded schools, and executed public works. Rede built a free school in his native town, and many of his fellows in the City spent a portion of their wealth on public works. Hugh Clopton (owner of the 'great house' in which Shakespeare afterwards lived and died) built a fine stone bridge at Stratford on the Avon. William Fitzwilliam built a great part of St. Andrew Undershaft. Stephen Jennings built the grammar-school at Wolverhampton. Henry Kebble gave a hundred and forty ploughs to husbandmen in Oxfordshire and Warwickshire. William Coffinger left half his huge estates to the poor. John Saxe built the hospital of St. Antony's Church. A son of Colet was the founder of St. Paul's School. Jocelyn was a Knight of the Bath; Fitzwilliam a Privy Councillor. But much of their renown was still to come. These men were all to have illustrious progeny. Capel was ancestor of the Earl of Essex and the Marquis of Winchester; Coke, of

Lord Bacon, of the Marquis of Salisbury, and the Marquis of Exeter; Jocelyn, of the Earl of Roden. Misfine, skinner, was the grandfather of John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell. Locke, a younger man, but soon to take his freedom, was the ancestor of John Locke, of Chancellor King, and of the Earl of Lovelace. Rede, the new Lord Mayor, had come from Norfolk, entered on the goldsmith's craft, amassed a fortune, and been knighted by the King. Four years ago he served as sheriff, and became the alderman of Cheape. In prospect of the civic chain, he purchased Crosby Place, not long since occupied by Richard, and in this historic palace, he received and entertained his Scottish guests. Dunbar repaid the citizens for meat and wine by the delivery of an Ode, in which he spoke of London as the flower of cities, of her business men as royal merchants, and her dames as lovesome, small, and fair.

6. At length the treaty was arranged. The dowry was thirty thousand golden nobles. Lady Margaret was to have five hundred marks a-year as pin-money, and a jointure, which the King her husband was to manage, of two thousand pounds a-year in rent. On Monday, January the twenty-fourth, the festival of St. Cadoc, an assembly met at Richmond, where the two bodies of commissioners signed a permanent and solemn league of peace between the crowns. In one respect, the Scots were disappointed in their hope. They had imagined Henry would re-

store to them the town of Berwick; but the King would never listen to this suit; and they were fain to either drop the question or return as they had come. They dropt it. On the following day, the festival of St. Paul, the temporal and spiritual peers assembled in the chapel. Mass was said, and Richard, Bishop of Rochester, preached a sermon. Then the King and Queen, accompanied by the Duke of York and Lady Mary, led Ayala and the Scottish messengers, followed by a crowd of prelates, peers, and knights, into the Queen's hall, where Bothwell, lay ambassador, stood as proxy for his lord. The ceremony of espousals was performed, on which a blare of trumpets from the leads told every one in Richmond that the Lady Margaret was henceforth Queen of Scots.

CHAPTER VII.

LUDLOW CASTLE.

1502.

1. Attended by the Bishop of Lincoln and the Lords of Council, Arthur and Catharine entered Ludlow early in the year. Received with rapture by the townfolk, who were proud to see their prince, they entered the baronial hall prepared for them by Henry's care. A place still dear to lovers of romantic scenery and noble verse, this border castle stands on rising ground, some part of which lies backward in the town, and covered by the wall, but much of it runs forward on a rocky bluff, and overhangs a limpid stream. Below this strong embattled front the Corve flows into the Teme, through soft and verdant breadths of flat and slope. Corve Dale, with all her beauties, lay beneath their eyes. A wooded hill rose up beyond these pastures, and a rolling landscape led the mind away to distant mountain chains. This castle has a striking place in the great drama of our history. Built by Roger de Montgomery, it was seized by Henry the First, besieged in vain by Stephen, stormed and carried by De Montfort, made a rendezvous by Richard Planta-

genet, Duke of York. Nor was the castle wanting in poetic memories. Ludlow had been the scene of Marian's wild revenge; the home of Roger Mortimer, the guilty partner of Queen Elinor; a property of the De Lacies; and a home of Edward, the unfortunate Prince of Wales, who left it for his chamber in the Bloody Tower.

2. In this romantic seat the Prince and Princess held a court at which the knights and gentry of the border shires were welcomed with a round of tilts and feasts, when Catharine, though she could not speak their language, crowned the victors with her eyes and hands. Sir Richard Pole took care the girl should be amused, and Bishop Smith induced the boy to give his mornings to affairs of state. The Prince had much to do in Wales beyond reviving Camelot and her wandering knights. Fierce passions were alive around him, and on every side he found dark traces of the havoc wrought by civil strife. Ludlow was a ruined town. Delivered by the chance of war into Lancastrian hands, the houses had been ravaged to the walls. What could be eaten had been swallowed up; what could be stolen had been swept away; what could be merely burnt had been set on fire. The castle had been roughly spoiled, but Edward, in his day of vengeance, had been able to redress all injuries done to property of his crown. Much might be done by princely words to quicken the repair of what was ruined; and the Prince, amidst his masks and revels, gave a ready ear and

warm encouragement to every one who wrought his best at building, planting, and repairing the old border town.

3. Two months after bride and groom had ridden out of London, Henry wrote a letter to the King and Queen of Spain, in which he told them what was done, and hinted, in a general way, that in allowing Catharine to go down to Ludlow Castle, he was carrying out their wishes, not his own. The plate was nowhere mentioned; but his hints of long debates in council, of the opposition of many peers and prelates, of the sudden resolution taken by the King to let her go, seemed meant to check complaints. His letter ran:

'To the most serene and most puissant Prince and Princess the Lord and Lady Fernando and Isabel, by the Grace of God King and Queen of Castille, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, Granada, etc., our well-beloved kinsfolk and cousins, we Henry, by the same grace King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, send greeting and ever-increasing good fortune. That we might observe the ancient customs of our realm, we recently despatched into Wales the most illustrious Arthur and Catharine, our common children. For although the opinions of many were adverse to this course by reason of the tender age of our son, yet were we unwilling to allow the prince and princess to be separated at any distance from each other. Thus much we wished to show unto you by this our letter, that

you may understand our excessive love which we bear towards the most illustrious Lady Catharine, our common daughter, even to the danger of our own son. But the said most illustrious lady has with her a venerable man, Alessandro Geraldino, her principal chaplain, for whom we have the greatest regard, partly by reason of his virtues shown unto us in many ways, and partly because he has been the said lady's preceptor, and for a long time your Highnesses' servant. And we doubt not that he will, in his letters, give a true report unto your Highnesses of the well-being and tranquillity as well of ourselves and our realm as of the most illustrious lady his own mistress. Wherefore we shall not at present write at greater length. From our castle of Richmond, this 20th day of February, 1501–2.

'HENRY R.'

Secreted at a later date, this letter lay for centuries in a private cabinet of the kings of Spain.

4. The rough old border people liked the Prince, whose grace and gentleness were of daily use in softening family feuds and party strife. An air of youth was in his court. Ludlow began to smile again. The streets were cleared, the houses built afresh. New shops were opened in the town; but these material changes were the least in Arthur's eyes. He set himself the highest task on earth,—to succour and defend the poor who could not help themselves. A cruel war had not been worse to them than cruel laws. On searching through the

border code he found the laws in use a mere chaotic mass. A few were obsolete; still more were useless; and the rest were mischievous. His council, most of whom were Welsh, as Philips, Udal, Crofts, and Vernon, took the local code in hand, for an oppressive law is worse than an imperious chief. Reform was pressed by Bishop Smith in council, while the Prince was steadily at work within his household. Arthur strove to put down private brawls, but rather by the precept of a gentle life than by the exercise of regal strength. If any one bore malice, Arthur would not own him. If a courtier had a quarrel, Arthur searched into the cause, and took the part of him whose course was just. A keen observer of the boy at Ludlow said of him, 'He sought to strengthen and preserve the law, and gave his soul and body to the service of Almighty God.'

5. While Arthur was engaged in Camelot on these knightly tasks, a new disease broke out, which the physician, Bereworth, fancied was a form of plague. Much rain had lately fallen in the Shropshire hills. Elvira found the climate damp, and Catharine, used to southern sunshine, shivered in the marshy meads and dripping woods. Fernando heard that Ludlow was a dull, unwholesome town, as in the rainy months it must have seemed to men and women fresh from the Alhambra gardens, where the citron is in bloom and fruit the whole year round. The Prince caught cold, and could not shake it off. In spite of Bereworth's care

he sank, as in a falling sickness. No one knew of what he ailed. Some called his sickness waste, while others called it plague. One thing alone was clear; the boy was dying in his teens; and that so fast, that Pole could send for neither Queen nor King in time to see him die. The girl, not five months married, was alone with him, in that strange place, without a mother to advise her, and a chamberlain and doctor in her husband's chamber whom she could not understand. Had she but known a little French, she might have been a comfort to the Prince. But an interpreter at a dying bed, translating gasp and sigh from English into Latin and from Latin into Castillian, was a task too weary to go on from day to day. She could do nothing for him but retire. The boy and girl were parted by their fates. When Arthur called his notaries and made his will, he seemed to have forgotten the fair woman who had recently become his wife. He thought of others, who were nearer to his heart. In these last moments of his life on earth, he turned to that fond sister who had been his playmate as a child, and who was now contracted to the King of Scots. To Margaret he left his cups and rings, his robes and household stuff.

On Saturday, the second day of April, he expired—the shadowy prince whom men had called too good to live.

6. A child, a widow, and a stranger in that border town, with no one save a chaplain and some women

to advise her, Catharine felt that failing of the heart which sometimes overtakes the bravest men; and going to her chamber in the Castle, with her faithful maid, Maria de Salazar, she shut her door in Moorish fashion on the world; devolving the sad duties of her house on Pole, the chamberlain, who sent off letters with his awful message to the King and Queen.

CHAPTER VIII.

AT GREENWICH.

1502.

1. By the water-side of Greenwich, where the river curls about the Isle of Dogs, a royal lodge had stood in ancient days. The spot was lovely, and commanded landscapes lovelier than itself. Green swards ran upward to the crown of two fine hills, and in the dip between these heights lay many a clump of venerable trees. A fleet of ships adorned the river, and a herd of deer adorned the park. A castle, built by good Duke Humphrey, crowned the greater height, and in this castle Mary of York, a sister of the Queen, had lived and died. The lodge beside the water had been called the Plaisaunce, but the good Duke Humphrey, on repairing it, had changed the name from Plaisaunce to Placentia. Henry liked the spot, and as the Queen, to whom it bore a memory of her sister, liked it also, he enlarged the pile, rebuilt the river front, threw up some cells for his attendant friars, and made Placentia a retreat from his abounding cares of state.

2. At Greenwich, Henry, Duke of York, was born, and as the Duke was more robust than any

other of the royal infants, Greenwich was supposed to have a wholesome air. When Lady Margaret had been promised to the King of Scots, and the commissioners had left for Stirling, every one content in heart, the King and Queen had dropt to Greenwich with their children, to enjoy those days of privacy which Henry loved so well.

3. Pole's messengers arrived at Greenwich in the dead of Monday night, all splashed and grimy from their rapid ride. The lights were out, the King was gone to bed. But news like Pole's will hardly keep. A councillor was found, who sent an officer to call his colleagues of the board. Awakened from their sleep, these councillors hurried to the chamber, and perused the letter out of Wales. What man would break this message to the King? Too well they knew his dread lest all his masculine line should fail. Of three sons whom the Queen had borne him two were gone. The future seemed to hang upon a thread. What words of comfort could a councillor use? It was no case of private grief. Prince Arthur's death exposed the nation to a second civil war. Nor were the females stronger than the males. Lady Elizabeth, the King's second daughter, lay in Westminster Abbey. Lady Mary, next in age, was delicate in health. What could the wisest of his councillors say?

4. In seeking right and left for some one who might break these tidings to the King, they thought of an Observant friar who lived hard by, in one

of those poor sheds which Henry had erected on the river bank. For him they sent, and after showing him the news from Pole, they begged him, as a man of God, to whom his Grace would listen with respect, to go and tell him what had come to pass. This friar, who was the King's confessor, knew his duty, and might speak to him in tones no other man would dare to use. He bowed his head, accepted his commission, and retired till it was time to go into the room and speak. Before the night was past, he stole into the corridor where Henry slept, and tapping at the door, as he was wont to do when coming on his ghostly errands, listened for an answering voice within. A voice within the room asked who was there so early in the day? 'It is I, the King's confessor,' he replied. The pages let him in. 'Leave us alone,' he whispered, as he passed these youths, and having cleared the room, he turned a sad face towards the King and said: 'Si bona de manu Dei suscipimus, mala autem quare non sustineamus?' Then he told his grace, that Arthur, Prince of Wales, was gone to God.

5. 'Send some one for the Queen,' gasped Henry, stricken to the heart, 'and let me bear this grief with her.' The Queen came in, and seeing how her husband reeled and sank beneath this blow, she tried to comfort him, as wife and queen should do in such a loss. Too well she saw where he was pierced, and how the shaft struck home. Not only was his boy gone from him, but his heir was

dead. The day-dream of his life had melted into mist. King Arthur and his court were henceforth to be only found in song, and even the relapse of England into civil war might turn upon the chances of a single life. If Henry, Duke of York, should also fail, the house of Lancaster would be left without a prince, and either Pole or Courtney might be chosen to succeed the King. In brief, the sceptre would return from Lancaster to York. She knew what chord to strike in Henry's heart, and looking up into his face, she bade him dwell on what was left to them, as well as pine for what was lost. It was for God, she said, to give, for God to take away. One life might prove as good as twenty lives. His mother, he should bear in mind, had but one son, yet he, that only son, was there and on his throne. His life was spared, his cause was blessed, his crown was won. All men regarded him as one of the wisest and most prosperous kings on earth. If much was taken from them, see how much remained! They had a fine young prince, and two princesses, to renew their line. Nor were they yet too old for hope. She was but thirty-five years old, and God might give them other sons. His grace, she urged, should think of her a little, of himself still more, and of his country most of all. At length, he rallied to her voice. He raised his eyes to look on her, so beautiful and strong. He felt the beauty of her love, and stilled for her the passion and despair which tore his inmost heart.

When he seemed easy in his mind, she softly left his side, and crept away in silence to her room.

6. Some minutes later he was called in haste to her apartments. She was swooning on her bed, and he who had been soothed and strengthened by her words, had now to calm and cheer the mother who had lost her son. In these sad moments of bereavement love was paid by love. On both sides, it was, 'Let me bear this grief with her,' and 'Let me bear this grief with him!' And thus, in the retreat which they had built for love and privacy, the King and Queen of England mourned in silence for their first-born son.

Book the Eighth.

CATHARINE'S PARENTS.

CHAPTER I.

TOLEDO.

1502.

1. At midnight, on the tenth of May, the King and Queen of Spain were seated in a dim and lofty chamber of the Moorish palace at Toledo, trying to unlock the secrets of a short despatch. That evening messengers had swept across the bridge and up the ramp-like streets. They brought a note in cypher, brief in words, but full of menace for the Court. At length the King and Queen had made the cyphers yield. Catharine, their child, so lately gone from them in bridal hope, was now a widow in a foreign land. Like Isabel, her sister, she had tasted in her teens the bitterness of death. Her situation in that border town, with her dead husband, and without a friend to guide her steps, was one to touch a heart of bronze. A child, a widow—she

was little over sixteen years of age. She could not understand the speech of Pole and Smith. Her native councillors, Fonseca, Cabra, and their mates, were gone away. Her native servants had been lowered in rank. Except her foreign chaplain, Padre Alessandro, not a man was near to whom she could apply. In her young misery she was utterly alone. Yet not one word of love and greeting left the capital of Castille that night. Her parents had no time to waste on words of love. Their game was checked. By Arthur's death their purpose in her marriage had been foiled; just as their purpose in her sister's union with Affonzo had been foiled. A Dowager Princess of Wales could neither wear the English crown, nor govern those who might be called to wear that English crown.

2. They bade their secretary, Almazan, take up his pen and write. A secret agent must be chosen and despatched. No moment could be lost. A confidential minister must start for London, where a work was to be done that priests and lawyers might not like to touch. The business was so weighty that the usual forms of etiquette must be set aside. A man of rank must go; a man of highest rank and nearest trust; for he would have to act with the authority and confidence of a king. The man they wanted lay in an adjoining room. Estrada, chamberlain and councillor, was a personal friend, a duke in rank, and one of the oldest officers in their court. He knew their secrets and their pro-

jects. Should a doubt arise, he knew their mind, and could be trusted like themselves. But not a moment could be lost. Affairs were at the turning-point; he must be gone ere break of day; and he must travel by the shortest road. Five weeks had passed away since Arthur died, and who could say what plots were now afloat? The French were never slow, and they had reason for the sharpest haste. A new and deadly war was opening in the South; a war that would decide the fate of Italy, and give to either France or Spain a virtual primacy of the West. French troops, they knew, were marching through the Alps; French agents, they were sure, were flocking to the Thames. Estrada ought to be in London by the end of May. So striking an event as Arthur's sudden death might justify the Duke in asking leave to go through France, even though the countries were so near a rupture that the Queen was listening daily for the roar of guns. Estrada could be told by word of mouth what he would have to do and say when he arrived, but he should leap to horse that night, and get to London ere the mischief had been done. Let him depart at once, not waiting for his papers and credentials, which would take some hours to frame, translate, and sign.

3. A scrap of paper, signed by King and Queen, was put into Estrada's hand, on which the royal chamberlain took his leave. That scrap of paper was addressed to Puebla, telling him that the Duke

was master, putting every one in Catharine's household under his control, and bidding them obey as though the royal chamberlain were King and Queen of Spain. Estrada was to exercise their joint and separate powers.

4. At no time had a close connexion with the English Court appeared of so much moment to the King and Queen. If war should come, and war was sure to come, they could not look to Germany for help. Since Juan's death, the Austrian league had proved to them, by turns a trap, a fetter, and a curse. Juana's husband, Philip, had his word in every council, and his partizan in every street. His son, an Austrian prince, was heir; and Spain was feeling all the bitterness of her dependence on a man like Kaiser Max. Not long ago the penniless Emperor had borrowed forty thousand florins from the King of Naples, who had lent this money on condition that the Emperor should refuse to sign a truce with France. But Louis, a more subtle schemer than his predecessor Charles, had tempted Max with heaps of ducats; and without repaying Federigo any of his money, Max had signed a truce and left the road to Naples open to the French. In their revenge, the King and Queen of Spain had sought once more to square accounts with France. Their task had not been hard; for George d'Amboise, Cardinal of Rouen, and the friend and minister of Louis, had an eye upon the Papal chair, and fancied he could gain the Spanish vote in Rome

by service to the King and Queen of Spain. He had advised his master to accept proposals for dividing Naples which had been refused by Charles. The Treaty of Granada had been signed; a treaty, by the terms of which Louis and Fernando undertook to conquer and divide between them Federigo's kingdom, and to guarantee each other in possession of their spoil. Two armies, under Nemours and Gonsalvo, had been thrown into the country, and success had waited on their arms. For Italy was rent by factions; and Cesare Borgia, priest and soldier, poisoner and fratricide, had joined the foreign captains. Federigo had been driven from Naples and his dynasty uncrowned.

5. But when these conquerors had come to share the plunder, they had not been able to agree. Apulia and Calabria had been seized by Spain; Campagna and Abruzzi had been occupied by France. Some districts were disputed, and the generals, allies only of a day, had carried these disputes with overbearing pride. Nemours had required Gonsalvo to withdraw his troops beyond a certain line. Gonsalvo had replied to these demands by fortifying many towns. In Paris, Nemours' haughty language had been much approved. His means were greater than Gonsalvo's, and the French imagined they could drive the Spaniards to their ships. All France was arming. Louis had departed for his camp, and troops were pouring into Languedoc. A bloody war was issuing from a monstrous treaty; and at this decisive hour,

when Spain was closing in a hug of mortal strife with France, the bond which tied the courts of London and Granada to pursue a common policy, had been snapt by Arthur's death.

6. Estrada having ridden away, the King and Queen prepared two papers of instructions for his guidance, which the secretary was to send as soon as they could be engrossed and sealed. The first of these two papers was a public letter, which Estrada was to show the Tudor king in council, as a blind. The second of these papers was a private letter, which he was to show the King in secret, as the actual object of his mission in the country. By the first, Estrada was empowered, as envoy from the King and Queen of Spain, to claim from Henry, in their joint and several names, and in the name of Catharine, prompt repayment of the hundred thousand crowns, and a conveyance of the manors, rents, and goods assigned to Catharine at St. Paul's. He was to add, that Catharine should be sent to Spain, that Henry should provide the necessary ships, and that the whole expenses of her journey should be paid by England. By the second, he was authorized to propose a league between the crowns of Spain and England, for their mutual aid,—a league to be cemented by a match between the Spanish widow and her English brother-in-law, the Duke of York. Full explanations to Estrada went along with these more formal papers, so that nothing might be left in doubt. Their orders were that he

should push the business of his mission at his utmost speed. He was to suffer no delay, and settle every point the moment it arose. No questions as to either dowry, plate, or jewels, were to stay him. Nay, he was not asked to write, except to say that everything was done, and Catharine was contracted to the Duke of York.

7. Such were the plots begun that night in the old Moorish palace at Toledo: plots that were to wreck their daughter's life, and help to rend the Universal Church. Before they heard how Catharine had been left, before they spoke one word of Arthur's death, the King and Queen of Spain had taken all these measures to provide a second marriage of their daughter to an English prince. Their project was so strange that nothing can excuse, and nothing short of stern necessity can explain it. Both the King and Queen were well aware that Catharine was a sister-in-law of Henry, Duke of York. In every word they recognised this fact of facts. They called their daughter the Princess of Wales. They paid her dowry as Princess of Wales. They claimed her settlements as Princess of Wales. Yet no consideration for their daughter, for society, and for religion, stayed their hands. A war was opening, and they wanted Catharine on the English throne.

CHAPTER II.

NEW PROPOSALS.

1502.

1. Two days elapsed before the King and Queen of Spain found time to think of Catharine as their child. When the instructions had been signed and sealed, they wrote a line to Puebla, which they told him he must show. Their hearts, they wrote, were drowned by his sad news, and yet in humble piety they bowed their heads. The will of God must be obeyed. They grieved to hear that Catharine was unwell; the town she dwelt in was, they heard, unwholesome; and the King, their brother, should be asked to move her to some fitting place. It was the sort of letter their Italian scribe was paid for writing. Not a word was said about Estrada's journey and the object of his going to the English court. Their hearts were full of love and care. They wanted news, fresh news, and ever more fresh news. They bade their envoy write, and write, and send them messages by sea and land.

2. Puebla wrote and sent too soon. Not guessing that the King and Queen were scheming for a

second match in London, and supposing they were still uneasy as to Catharine's jointure, he enclosed a piece of evidence which was to set their minds at rest. A lawyer, understanding law, he knew that if a doubt arose about the marriage, Warham might object to pay. The letter he enclosed was one from Padre Alessandro, Catharine's chaplain and confessor, stating in the simplest words that Catharine was a lawful widow of the Prince, and therefore could not be refused the payment of her jointure as the Dowager Princess of Wales.

3. A month ago, they would have given the canonist a mitre for his news, but Arthur's death had upset all their schemes, and in their sudden change of policy it might be well to leave that problem in the shade. Their fears had led them to adopt a theory of their daughter's married life more fitted for the comic stage than for a serious board. In dealing with the question of her settlements, they had to argue that she was Prince Arthur's widow; while in dealing with the question of her second marriage, they contended she had never been his wife. The papers on their way to England showed these opposite sides: the public letter speaking of Catharine only as Princess of Wales; the private letter only as the Lady Catharine, daughter of the King and Queen of Spain. They would have liked to keep both courses open, and to choose their line according to events. But Puebla's note compelled them to review the situation, and

decide what language they would hold in Catharine's house.

4. The English people stood on forms and texts. A Spaniard would have cared but slightly whether Catharine had been married to the Prince or not, because he held that no impediment to marriage was beyond the faculty of Rome to set aside. Few English people had such confidence in the Roman court. One school of canonists in Rome contended that the Papal privilege of dispensing with the penalties incurred by sin was absolute. Less courtly lawyers, even near the Vatican, held that this high privilege was limited by Holy Scripture; but the favourite lawyers of the Pontiff held that his dispensing power was absolute in kind and in extent. It was admitted that a Pope could only use his privilege for the public good, in urgent cases, and when ordinary methods of relief had failed; but then the Pope was left to be the judge of what was for the public good, of when a state of urgency arose, of whether all the ordinary methods had been tried. A right thus limited was hardly limited at all. The Spaniards, as a nation, held these courtly views of the dispensing power. Few English priests, and fewer English people, shared their views. They sought a higher law elsewhere, and found that Papal powers were limited by the law of God. The King and Queen were driven to make a choice, and as the marriage was of more importance than the money, they resolved, though they might lose her settle-

ments by the avowal, to declare that Catharine was a merely nominal Princess of Wales. Estrada must be warned in time. Before he landed he might hear some rumour, and should have his answer on his lips. He was to treat the rumour as without foundation; as the tattle of a monk and priest. If any one should mention Puebla as a witness, he must hint that Puebla and the chaplain had some objects of their own in view. To stop all chatter, they directed him to put a curb on every tongue, from that of chamberlain to that of cook and sweep.

Two persons held their secret who were not so easily curbed as chamberlains and cooks. Puebla, they imagined, might be trusted, since his wages and his safety lay in prompt submission to their will. He was a Spaniard, and his family lived in Spain. Though Henry had been talking of his settlement in London, either with a wealthy widow for a wife, or some fat canonry for a consolation, nothing had been done. He was a Spanish subject, open to recall and punishment. If he refused, they had a weapon in reserve. He had a daughter living in his house at Seville; they had an inquisitor lodging in their castle at Triana. Not a mile divided house and castle. By a secret sign this girl might be denounced; no proofs would be required; and in an hour familiars from Triana would be rioting in the envoy's house. What came of seizure by Dominicans he had seen. His daughter would be whisked away; his goods and chattels would be carted off.

The woman might be lost. No secular judge could seek her out; no secular eye would see her face, until by fasting, darkness, torture, and despair, she had been driven to say and sign whatever she was asked to say and sign. That all this might be done with her was not long after put to proof.

6. But Alessandro was another man. He was no Spanish subject. An Italian, he was not compelled by family interests to return. A priest, he was an upright man; a soldier, he was frank and bold; a foreigner, he was free to speak the truth. Attached to Catharine as her teacher and confessor, he was likely to consider what was good for her, before he thought of what might turn out good for him; and hence the King and Queen were much afraid that when their project came to light, this faithful priest might warn their daughter in his spiritual office that a union with her husband's brother would be mortal sin. They dared not trust him; yet to get him back into their power was not so easy. If the chaplain were in Spain, he could be forced to hold his tongue, and should Estrada fail to prove that he was wrong, they saw he must be got on board a ship, and brought immediately to Spain. A copy of his note was therefore sent in cypher to Estrada, with minute instructions for his guidance in this nice affair. No pother must be raised. Estrada was to read the note, and keep the contents to himself. He was to ask Elvira what she knew, and what was known to others. Not a whisper must be breathed

to Catharine on the subject. Alessandro must be treated with respect, as one whom they were pleased to honour, but he must not learn that they had seen his note. In what was further to be done, Estrada should be guided by Elvira. If the priest were likely to do harm, he must be got on board; but things must be arranged so wisely that he would not guess the actual cause of his return to Spain. 'Be on your guard,' they wrote, 'in order that what is being said shall do no harm, when in God's good pleasure the marriage has been finally arranged.'

7. As such an offer was unlikely to be well received, they sought to arm themselves at every point. The King of England had one vice on which they saw their way to act. He was a thrifty man. The comedy of Catharine's plate had shown them how he might be swayed by love of money. Only one instalment of the dowry had been paid, and Henry had been asking for his second store of crowns. They met this claim by a refusal, and by something worse than a refusal. They affected to believe that Arthur's death had thrown a great advantage into Catharine's lap. The Prince had made on her a settlement of a third of his estate. His death, they said, had left that settlement untouched, while Catharine's dowry must return to Spain. The law, they said, was clear in favour of this view. To fortify their plea, they laid a case before the University of Salamanca, where in due time and at some

expense, they got opinions from the doctors in their favour, which they sent to England, and submitted to the King. All means, direct and indirect, were taken to convince the thrifty monarch that unless he married Catharine to his younger son, he would have gained in her a grievous loss.

8. Ere long Fernando found this business much too nice for his direct and masculine style of treatment, and, engrossed with his affairs in Italy and France, he gave the charge to Isabel, his wife, who thenceforth took the leading part in forcing Catharine on the Duke of York.

CHAPTER III.

DURHAM HOUSE.

1502.

1. LODGED in her private room at Ludlow, with her maids of honour and her native servants, Catharine took no part in the poetic obsequies of her lord. Three weeks he lay in state where he had died, with lighted tapers, darkened room, funereal black and white, a princely crown, emblazoned shield and arms, monks, watchers, yeomen of the guard, sad silence, solemn knells, the chant of nones and vespers, and the whole array and pomp of a majestic grief. All forms that sorrow could invent were lavished on the boy. 'Spare nothing,' said the King and Queen. A resting-place was chosen for him in the Cathedral of Worcester, in the chancel, on the right-hand side. Sir Reginald Bray was asked to build a chapel and a tomb. The road from Ludlow to Worcester, running through a length of dales and forests, had been roughened by the rains, yet every chapel on that road was turned into a shrine. At every shrine, the cavalcade was halted, and a solemn mass was said. At Bewdley, on the Severn, there was longer pause, for Bewdley was a royal manor, and a favourite

hunting-lodge. At Bewdley, Arthur had espoused his bride by proxy; now, on his return to Bewdley dead, his bride was only at his side by proxy. Mass was chanted for his soul, and then the sad procession moved to Worcester, where, amid the sobs and tears of a whole nation, Arthur of Winchester was laid beneath the chancel wall. A shadow he had come, a shadow he was gone.

2. The Queen, though broken by her grief, had time to think of Catharine in her lonely state. She sent for Cope, her tailor, and desired him to prepare a litter, black with crape and velvet, as became a mourning bride, and when the thing was made, she sent for Catharine up to London, where she welcomed her with tender love. Along the road from Ludlow, she was everywhere received with royal honours, as the lady next in station to the Queen. Her face was sad and strange; but not with the strange sadness of a breaking heart. Such griefs as snap the cords of life were not for girls so young in years, so warm in blood, so flush in temper as the Spanish lady. On the road, her rank as princess was conceded; no one in her court, and no one in the country, dreaming that she was a merely nominal widow of the Prince. The King, though eager to secure his dynasty from risks, put off, on good advice, the ceremony of creating his second son a Prince of Wales. Forty-three weeks elapsed before he ventured to confer this honour on his son.

3. They placed her, as beseemed a young and

widowed princess, in the palaces of two ecclesiastics; Durham House in town, and Croydon Park among the Surrey Hills. A pile of ampler size and greater splendour than the Priory of Clerkenwell, Durham House, the London palace of the bishop-palatine, rose on the water-edge adjoining Ivy Lane. A square, with inner court and flanking towers, the palace had a look of strength more seemly in a baron's castle than a bishop's house. Yet Durham House was a delicious seat. A noble garden lay around, ascending from the tide-way to the Strand. A stair and water-gate gave access to a fleet of boats. A lofty turret, springing from the front, commanded every ait and inlet of the stream from Lambeth spire to London Bridge. A prelate's house and garden lay to right and left; here Norwich Inn, there Carlisle Place; and southward, from the water stretched a green and wooded upland to the crest of Denmark Hill. This princely pile was empty; Fox, late Bishop of Durham, having gone to Winchester, and Lever, his successor in the see, being still the occupant of Carlisle Place. Thus, Durham House was free to Catharine; from whose tenancy it was to be a centre of historic scenes, which were to pass from Catharine of Aragon to Lady Jane Grey, from Lady Jane Grey to Princess Elizabeth, and from Princess Elizabeth to Sir Walter Raleigh. Catharine, with her maids, her servants, and her priests, took up her rest at Durham House.

4. The park at Croydon had been tenanted by

archbishops from the Saxon times. All through the Norman reigns that park had been the country-seat of primates. Here Courtney had received his pall. Here Arundel and Chichele had lived. In Croydon, James the First, King of Scots, had been received in his captivity. Here Morton had kept a splendid household. Deane was in possession; but the primate was at Lambeth, busy with affairs of state; and Catharine had the full enjoyment of his country-seat. The palace stood beside the church; a quaint old edifice, with guard-room, hall, and chapel; rich in carvings, shields, and royal arms. A verdant sward ran upward from this palace into planted clumps and breezy knolls. Whatever art could do to perfect nature had been done at Croydon Park. Archbishop Chichele had spent a fortune on the church and palace. All these beauties were her own; for Deane, a man of politics and business, had no time to spare for visiting his country-house. So busy was he with the King's affairs, that he had found no time to be enthroned, and was compelled to name a suffragan—John Bell—to do his duties in connexion with the Church. Thus, Catharine, though a guest in clerical houses, was entirely free from clerical invasion and control. Her ghostly needs were left in Padre Alessandro's charge.

5. At either Durham House or Croydon Park, the widow passed her early weeks of mourning with her chaplain, her dueña, and the ladies of her train. At first she lived in deep retirement, seeing no one

save the King and Queen, the women of her chamber, and the tutor of her youth. The Queen, so good and true to all who were in grief, was more than good and true to Catharine in her lonely and uncertain state. The King was eager, not to say impatient. Day and night he asked himself if Henry, Duke of York, was now his heir? That stalwart boy had been intended for the Church. His education had been settled with a view to clerical affairs; a bishop's staff, a cardinal's hat, and perhaps a papal crown. Were other things in store for him? Was he to live and die a secular prince? No one could tell him. He must wait and see.

6. The King was eager, with a passion not to be appeased. When business carried him away from town, a messenger brought him daily news from Croydon Park. His rivals were astir. Edmond de la Pole was working in the imperial court; and Henry was but poorly satisfied by having that rival burned in effigy at St. Paul's. While England had no Prince of Wales, there was no legal and accepted heir. Some persons held that if the reigning king should die, no prince could be proclaimed, no oath of fealty could be sworn, no legal process could be served, and everything would become the prey of chance. The risk was fearful; yet the council saw no way to bridge the chasm. They had to wait, and by their waiting prove, that Catharine was, in their belief, an actual widow of the Prince.

CHAPTER IV.

ESTRADA'S MISSION.

1502.

1. By the end of May, Estrada was in London; having ridden from Toledo, crossed the sea, and spurred from Dover to the Strand in less than twenty days. Such work as his brooked no delay. While he was on the road, he heard that Louis, King of France, was tempting Henry to his side by offering him a sister of Francois, Duke of Angoulême, for his son the Duke of York. The tale was true. Before he flung his troops across the Alps, that cautious prince was anxious to secure his capital from attack. All forms were studied and all means were tried to win a treaty of alliance from the English court. Francois was the King's cousin, and his sister, Madame Marguerite, was a lovely girl. If Louis were to leave no son behind him, Francois would be King of France. As yet he had no son. According to the policy laid down when he advised his cousin Charles to marry Duchess Anne, Louis, on coming to the throne, had sought the means of casting off his first wife, Jeanne de France, that he might take the royal widow and secure her duchy

for the crown. As ready with his honours as his ducats, he had found a way of reconciling Rome. The reigning pope was Alexander the Sixth, whose natural son, Cesare Borgia, had resigned his priesthood and his cardinal's hat. Amboise, who managed the affairs in Rome, had offered Alexander's son the duchy of Tarentum and the hand of Carlotta, Princess of Naples, as the price of a divorce. The Borgias had accepted his proposals. Amboise had been appointed judge, and Jeanne, a plain, weak woman, who had lived a blameless life for twenty years with Louis, had been cast aside. Amboise had been made a cardinal, and Louis had espoused the duchess Anne. Yet no great blessing had accrued to them. No son had yet been born to wear the double crown, and Francois, Duke of Angoulême, was still the next of kin. A match between the Duke of York and Madame Marguerite was so wise and natural an arrangement, that Estrada feared it had already gone too far for him to spoil.

2. Estrada found the widowed girl at Durham House in perfect health. Nor was she suffering much in mind, excepting from the wrangles in her anteroom. Her household was in great disorder. No one would obey, and every one would rule. Puebla could not bear Elvira, and Elvira could not keep on terms with the ambassador. The chaplain, upright in his service, thwarted the dueña, who was pulling towards another point. Manrique quarrelled with Cuero and his wife. Since Arthur's death Sir Rich-

ard Pole had left the household, and Manrique and Cuero had resumed their posts as chamberlain and keeper of the plate. Like many of their betters, they forgot, on their return to power, the lesson of their fall, and took to bickering in the closet on the day of their return.

3. Estrada lodged himself at Durham House with Catharine, where his rank and office gave him an authority with page and chamberlain beyond his formal warrants from the King and Queen. Sir Richard Croft and Bishop Smith remained in Wales. Excepting William Holybrand, who spoke Castillian, not a man of English birth remained at Catharine's side. The ladies, too, were gone. No English person interfered; and yet her halls were loud with strife. Manrique thought he should be master everywhere, because he got his orders from the Princess, while Cuero thought he should be master in the jewel-room, because he got his orders from the King. 'Regard the cups and jewels as your life; retain them under lock and key; refuse to lend them out for use; and see that none of them be either lost or sold'—such were Fernando's orders to his keeper of the plate. Cuero stood upon his duty; and the war of keeper, chamberlain, and dueña, was at issue when Estrada came and took upon himself the management of Catharine's house. His orders were to be discreet, and see that every one about him was discreet. The double object which he had in view required the nicest care, and he was forced

to arm himself on every side. No matter what was said, he had to hold his tongue, though he might open eyes to every sight, and ears to every sound. He was to learn all facts and send reports of them to Spain, since facts would be the surest guide in every step they had to take.

4. Estrada told the Princess little; and he warned Elvira to be cautious in her speech. Too many things, he said, were blurted out. The King and Queen, their masters, wanted servants who had open ears and silent tongues. The maids of honour must be checked; and no one, either man or woman, must be suffered to exchange one word with Catharine on her future course of life. He, only, had a leave to speak. He only could employ another voice to speak. If it were known that Catharine had a female friend, that friend was never, under any pretext, to be left alone with her an instant. No one who enjoyed her confidence must see her, lest the question of her future should be raised. She was to hear no news, to form no plans, to dream no dreams. Estrada wished to see how far the field lay open to his arts before he let the Princess know the articles he had in charge.

5. A seal being put on Catharine's maids, Estrada turned to her confessor. This Italian knew too much, and was too good a priest, he found, for such a work. He must be got away, and that before a word was said about a second match. As soon as Catharine heard of what the Duke was at, she would be sure

to tell the Padre, and the Padre might reply at once that such a thing could never be. Yet Alessandro must be sent to Spain in such a guise that neither he nor Catharine could suspect the reasons why he was recalled. Estrada said the King had need of him in State affairs; and when he placed the letter of recall in the confessor's hands, he urged him to depart at once for Spain. 'You are to manage so that Alessandro shall return,' the King and Queen had written; 'but you are not to let him see that you know anything of his note; consult with Doña Elvira; do what is best, and what seems good to her and you.' Estrada put the priest on board a ship, and Catharine saw her early friend no more. He went to Spain, where much was made of him by King and Queen, who kept him in their service, and took charge of his preferment in the Church. He died a bishop. Thus, the only man in Catharine's house who could have given her sound advice, was snatched away from her before a word was whispered of the project for a second match.

6. A duke, a chamberlain, a privy-councillor, Estrada was received by Henry with the brightest smiles. They were beginning now to know him, even in Spain. But when the Duke, who rode to Windsor, spoke to Henry of his secret object, he observed a change of tone. The cause he had to plead was not an English cause, nor were the means by which he pressed that cause acceptable to the Tudor Prince. The English people were at peace; Estrada

wished them to engage in war. The English ruler was allaying factious heats; Estrada wanted him to light the dying fires. By prudent steps the council was promoting unity of feeling through the land; Estrada bade them interrupt this noble labour by a roll of drums. Renouncing his imaginary rights in France, the King had fixed his mind on a pacific growth at home; Estrada urged him to renew an ancient and a fatal claim. Louis was paying to the English treasury fifty thousand crowns a-year; Estrada would have had the King renounce this revenue. A great majority of the people hoped to see the Prince of Wales espouse a sister of the Duke of Angoulême; Estrada charged them to refuse all terms of friendship with the King of France. The special reasons for rejecting his proposals were as strong as the more general reasons. Since his coming to the throne, the King had studied, year by year, to purge his family of his original defects of title; and Estrada offered him a lady for his heir whose union would endanger the legitimacy of all future English kings. The council were in fear of Pole; Estrada was proposing an alliance that would send a host of partizans to the Yorkist prince. The English people were attached to law and order, to the rules of justice and the words of Holy Writ; Estrada tempted them to enter on a project that would bring them into conflict with the voice of Nature and the testament of God.

7. A man so close as Henry Tudor was not likely

to betray his mind too soon. He had to hold his own with kings who played their game with loaded dice. Estrada's offers were a gain to him. They told him what the Queen of Spain desired. They warned him of a peril in his path. To send these offers to his council was to gain some months of time, and news might come at any hour from Italy that would dictate his future course. Great armies were approaching, and the guns might soon be heard. Like other men, he was the slave of victory. Until Gonsalvo's guns could speak, the matter was referred to councillors and judges, and Estrada found that he must meet objections to his offer raised by priests and jurists in the name of public law. Two parties showed themselves in council, each supposing that the King, though silent and reserved, was with them in his heart. Fox, Bishop of Winchester, was in favour of receiving the proposals sent from Spain; of studying them in detail, and resolving whether they were useful to the King and country. Warham, Bishop-elect of London, was in favour of rejecting them without discussion, as an outrage on his sovereign, on his country, and his God.

CHAPTER V.

ISABEL'S ORDERS.

1502.

1. FROM her apartments in Toledo, Isabel had to watch the progress of intrigue in Paris, Rome, and Naples, and to guide her chamberlain in London by the light of many camps. Fernando had departed for the Aljaferia, where his presence was required among his troops. Louis was massing corps in Languedoc, and menacing her husband's duchies in the Pyrenees. In Rome, Cesare Borgia was at work with murderous knife, and still more murderous pen. Nemours, who had denounced the peace with Spain, was pressing on Gonsalvo. Louis himself was marching through the Alps. At home she was no less uneasy than abroad. Those Friends of Light, who hated her and her Inquisitors, were at work. She could not trust the councillors at her board, the doctors in her colleges, and the officers in her towns. In spite of her familiars, she was still regarded as a bigot and usurpress, who had sold her honesty for a crown. Alone in her high tower, the Queen was looking on these stormy skies, and having taken the affairs of Catharine into charge, she penned a letter

to the Duke, at Durham House, in which she let him see her inmost soul. Her note was couched in cyphers; two of her most secret cyphers. No man save the Duke was ever to have read this letter from the Queen of Spain.

2. 'You are to understand,' she wrote, 'the King of France is on his way to Milan, and has sent an army against us with the design, it is said, of taking from us our estates. He has sent to the frontier of Perpignan many armed men, both foot and horse, and has commanded that ban and reban be proclaimed within his countries. . . . Thus, you see, how much we need to press. Let there be no delay in making an agreement for the contract of our daughter with the future Prince of Wales. This contract is the more necessary, as the King of France is seeking to prevent it; hoping to obtain the English alliance, and to get the Prince for either his daughter, or a sister of the Duke of Angoulême. Without saying a word about the last affair—since it is already known for a certainty that the Princess of Wales remains as she was when here—(for so Doña Elvira has written to us)—get the contract signed at once. Do not wait to consult with us. Delay is dangerous. See that the articles be written, signed and sworn. If nothing better can be got, let the affair be settled as we first proposed. In that case put it down in writing that the King of England has already received from us 100,000 scudos in gold. Let that payment be made a binding article

with a view to restitution, in accordance with the order sent to you at first. Promise that we will pay the second part when the marriage shall have been completed; that is to say, if you shall not be able to obtain for us more time. Take heed, that you on no account agree to pay what still remains of the dowry till the rite is over. See at once, moreover, that the King of England gives our daughter whatever money may be needed for her maintenance and that of her suite. Provide that in the arrangement of her household, everything shall be done to please the King of England. Take care that Doña Elvira shall remain with her, as well as any other person whom she may wish to keep.'

3. Her Highness could not stay her pen. 'Be very vigilant about this matter,' she went on. 'Do not let them see that you suspect anything; and do not show such eagerness as might induce the other side to cool. Set about our business prudently, and in the manner which may seem best to you, so that no delay may happen. Let us know what you have done. You must not wait for our advice. You know our will.' The passion of her pleading droops at last into a worldly tone. 'A league of amity,' she adds, 'was long ago concluded between us and the King of England, binding us to aid each other in defending our estates. That treaty says, *in what we possess at present*, that is to say, what we possessed when the treaty was made. According to that treaty, therefore, England is not obliged to aid

us in defending Apulia and Calabria, because we have obtained those countries since the draft was signed. When the treaty of marriage is made, you shall say to the King of England that it is reasonable, since the treaty of kinship is being settled afresh, he should renew the treaty of amity in such a manner that, without altering anything except the date, all that we have mentioned may be done. The former articles are clear in this respect; if you think well, make use of them; but you must get the articles signed at once.'

4. Nothing could have been better for the Spanish queen, nothing could have been worse for the English people, than a mere renewal of the articles of peace. To guarantee her holding of Granada was a daring step; for many fierce revolts, and some amazing victories, had shown how strong the Moorish feeling was; and Spain was so afraid of interference, that the Queen had sent her scribe, Pietro Martire, to appease the Soldan. Henry had guaranteed that conquest of the Cross. But the Italian provinces of Spain were even less secure. A host of rivals claimed them; Louis of France, Alexander the Sixth, Federigo the First, Cesare Borgia. Spain had sought adventures on Italian soil; at one time with the French against the Pope, another time with the Pope against the French; and now she was at war with both the spiritual pastor and the temporal prince. For England to adopt a guarantee of what she held by force in

Naples was to clothe herself with troubles which could yield no glory, and might cost much coin and blood. It was to undertake a permanent war against the French. Estrada was requested by his Queen to treat this article as a thing of form; and be extremely guarded in his speech on French affairs. The English King was not to guess how matters stood with them in France; and only after he had signed a treaty, binding Spain and England to assist each other in their wars, was he to learn that Louis and Fernando had already drawn the sword.

5. 'Before you speak one word to the King of England about the King of France,' she said, 'we want the marriage to be settled, so that fear of war may not prevent the match. On this account, it would be well that you should do things quickly. If anything is said to you about a war with France, pretend you do not believe it. Say so till the treaty of marriage has been signed. When that is done, you must show the King of England the Relation, which we send you herewith, of the matters between us and the King of France.' Not sure that Henry was so ill informed about her dealings with the court of France, she added, as a postscript: 'If, by chance, the rupture between the King of France and ourselves should be already known in England, and there should seem to be any disposition on the part of Henry to recover Guienne and Normandie by uniting himself with us, and us with him, in that case, let him understand that Max,

the Emperor, will be on our side. In fact, should you find that your negotiation will be easier, and the state of our affairs with France shall render it necessary, try to get the King of England to engage in war, by telling him that he will never have another such chance of recovering his lost domains. We think it would be well to make use of Doctor De Puebla in these negotiations. If you think he will be of use to you, explain the business to him, and let him give you aid in any way that seems the best. Try to persuade the King of England to engage in this affair. Use all the skill that we expect from you, and give it all your time and thought. If anything be said to you by others, listen; negotiate with caution; and consult with us should need arise. You must not say one word, however, till you have been certified of our actual rupture with the French.'

6. By Isabel's own showing then, this union of Catharine with her brother-in-law, the Duke of York, though known to be illegal, was contrived by her in order that, by means of English landings on the coast of France, she and the King, her husband, might be able to retain the provinces they had seized in Italy from the lawful prince. It was the counterpart of what she had already done in Lisbon. To attain this worldly end, she felt no scruple in cajoling and deceiving every one in turn —her priest, her ally, and her child.

CHAPTER VI.

A SPANISH COMEDY.

1502.

1. Before Estrada could report his doings, Isabel, in her lonely house, impatient for success, gave eye and ear to Puebla, and began to waver in her plan of trusting to the Duke. The doctor was in bitter mood. This fool of quality who had come to London was a greater insult to his pride than the urbane and able priest. Estrada treated him with cold and lofty airs. To find out what the Duke had come to do, and when he knew the business, to defeat it, had been Puebla's first resolves on finding the grandee at Durham House. A priest like Puebla, known to every councillor, and free from every scruple, had the means of thwarting such an enemy as the Duke. He warned his mistress that the Duke would fail. Much personal tact, much knowledge of the world, he told her, were essential to success in London; but the envoy she had sent to carry out her will had neither personal tact nor knowledge of the world. If she desired to gain her ends, she must employ her old and faithful servant. He, who knew the ground,

could tread it with a certain foot. A stranger to the country could not help but fail. If she would deign to trust him and employ him, he would soon create that 'new world' in her affairs of which he had written to her so many times. She read his words, and half relented of her harshness towards the man. Already she had been compelled to seek his help. When Isabel learnt that her proposals had been met by legal queries which Estrada could not answer, she had told the Duke to call in Puebla, if he thought the doctor honest, and the Duke, without pretending to believe him honest, had been forced to call him in. In treating with a man like Warham, no less sharp in law than subtle in the use of words, Estrada was completely lost, and Puebla saw with glee that the most difficult part of the affair was falling day by day into his hands.

2. He won the Queen of Spain by sending her a piece of secret news. The English King, he said, admitted that the royal widow was entitled to receive her rents; a sum of twenty-five thousand crowns of gold a-year. The same admission had, he said, been made by Savage, once commissioner at Medina, now Archbishop of York. Such news was welcome at Toledo. Puebla added, for himself, that he had always said the King of England must restore the hundred thousand crowns; and he presumed to send to her the details of a plan for bringing both the King and council to her feet.

She liked his view, and liked his plan. As ready to employ as to condemn a servant, Isabel took the doctor to her heart and held her dark familiars in reserve. She even stooped to coax the cripple; begging him to forget her former slights; and promising him the highest favour if he should persuade the council to adopt her views. It was no light affair, she wrote, nor would his recompense be small. 'If there is any service man could do for me, here is that service to be done.' She bade him act for her as he saw good, and take advantage of the Duke being near him. Puebla, when he got this letter, was elate with joy.

3. In all the comic writing of her country there is nothing droller than the letter Isabel addressed that evening to Estrada. She was still alone. Fernando could not leave the Aljaferia, where a thousand public cares engrossed his mind. French corps were forming in his front, with a design of rushing at the Pyrenees. A dangerous spirit was abroad in many of his towns, where few, except the lowest rabble, could endure his consort's Acts of Faith. In Italy, Nemours had driven Gonsalvo from the field; and he was doubting whether Spain could keep a footing in the towns. The French had suddenly displayed a vast array of force. Gonsalvo had to seek for safety in Barletta, an obscure and ill-protected harbour on the eastern coast, where he was forced to wait for men and guns, exposed to insults from an enemy whose military talents he

despised. The Pope had formed a close alliance with Louis, who had made his son a duke, and married him to a sister of Jean, king-consort of Navarre. Cesare Borgia, having quitted Rome for Lombardy, was welcoming Louis on Italian ground. At Milan, which the King of France had entered as a conqueror, Cesare was received with joy. As Venice was engaged in war with Bajazet, all Italy appeared to lie at Louis' feet.

4. The Queen took up her pen and wrote (in substance) to Estrada: 'It is now too late. Affairs are so much worse, that if we ask for a betrothal we shall be refused. Even if the King of England hears of what is done, we shall be greatly hurt. Press, therefore, for my daughter's quick return to Spain. She can display her grief far more at home than she can do in England, where the custom of the country is against display of grief. Tell Henry that we cannot bear to have a daughter whom we love so far away from home. A girl of Catharine's age is better in her mother's house. Request his leave to bring her home. Let some one of a proper age be named to come with her and see her safely landed on our shores.' These words were all a comedy. No part of her instructions was to be adopted, save in show and with a purpose to deceive. Instead of wanting Catharine nearer home, the Queen was bent on marrying her to the English heir. The plan had many details. 'Tell his Highness that you have instructions to engage a fleet of

ships.' In order to deceive the King a show of active preparation must be made. The household must be thoroughly misled. 'You are to lay commands on every one. A captain will arrive in London. See him, and arrange the cost of freight with him. He must be made to think you are about to sail. Allow some members of the train to go on board.'

5. Thus far the thing was easy, but the Queen went on to overdo her part. Estrada was to speak as though the going of the Princess meant a restitution of her hundred thousand crowns. He was to let the King and councillors understand that he expected every scudo of that money to be put on board his ships. The law had said it was her right. That law must be obeyed; but even if it were not law, so wise and good a prince as Henry could not suffer Catharine, in her dreadful sorrow, to be stript of everything she had. If Henry pointed to the marriage articles, Estrada must request him to point out any article in the treaty of alliance which said he was *not* to return the money. If Henry feigned that he knew nothing of Spanish law, Estrada was to answer that the Queen knew nothing of English law. If Henry said he was not bound to pay by law, he must be asked to pay because he ought to pay. How could he think of robbing a young lady who had suffered so much misery in his kingdom? Enemies and infidels could do no worse. 'You are to ask and to insist on having Catharine given into

your charge, together with her plate and jewels, and her hundred thousand crowns.'

6. Estrada carried out her orders so that every one at Durham House and Croydon Park believed he was about to sail. Manrique got the household ready to embark. Esquivel tried to square accounts. Cuero packed his plate and jewels, and arranged for carrying them on board. A ship lay waiting in the Thames. The skipper came to Durham House; some members of the household went on board his ship. A troop of swarthy seamen loitered round the stairs, and every idler near the water-side could see that active preparations were afoot. Ayala was already gone. Estrada was about to go with Catharine. Puebla was unlikely to remain. The Duke, however, kept a prudent course. His orders were precise, and he was not to go beyond the line laid out. 'The only object of these measures,' Isabel had told him, 'is to bring the business of betrothal to a close. Let this be done as fast as you can force it on. Let it be done as we desire. When that is done, our cares will cease. Then we can ask for English help against the French. No other arm can aid us in our strait.' She closed with a pathetic hint. 'It is for me,' she said, 'that you have now to strive. I look for you to do your utmost. If you ever hope to serve me, you must do it now. The service to be done for us in England is the greatest in the world.'

CHAPTER VII.

A CHANGE OF FRONT.

1502.

1. BEFORE she knew the issue of her plan, the Queen, more anxious every hour, had formed another scheme. A fresh ambassador should go to Henry's court. The King, her lord, was no less fretful than herself. Gonsalvo was constrained to act on the defensive. Rome had turned against him. Alexander the Sixth had cast his lot with France, intending, with the help of Louis, to bequeath a family kingdom, with a temporal capital in Rome. The Pope had given his daughter, Lucrezia, poisoner and murderess, in marriage to Alfonzo d'Este. Cesare Borgia, armed by France, was ravaging Bologna and Perugia. Florence was not safe from the rapacious duke. On every side the French were present in amazing force. A fleet and army lay at Genoa, ready to descend on any point. A corps of Swiss and Gascons were proceeding through a friendly country towards the south. Their aim was Naples. Sicily was menaced from the sea, and little had been done to meet an enemy attacking from the north. Louis was in Milan, acting like a King of Italy; receiving

embassies, rewarding princes, lecturing commonwealths, and raising troops and money for his war. No terms that Spain could offer were acceptable to Louis. With a lofty manner he received Fernando's agents, and dismissed them with a loud and scornful speech. 'Retire,' he said in substance, 'from the Capitanata; otherwise, I will take Apulia and Calabria from you.'

2. Spain was ill prepared for war. The country was uneasy, and Fernando feared to send his troops abroad. Granada was excited by a hope of foreign troubles, which might draw the garrisons of Loja, Gaudix, and Alhama, towards the Pyrenees. Fierce risings, fiercely quelled, had kept the bitter blood alive in every glen of Andalus where a Mohammedan people held the soil. At any moment they might rise again. Two years ago, the Moorish battle of Monarda had excited every capital in Europe. Even Asia heard the yell of victory. When Martire reached the Nile, on his pacific mission to the Soldan, he was warned to re-embark at once; the passions of the people being so hot against his master that the Soldan's officers would not answer for his head. Martire's quick Italian brain suggested that this peril, whether great or little, must be braved. If he retired, a fleet might follow in his wake. He sailed for Cairo, saw the Soldan, and with soft Italian wiles appeased the anger of that mighty prince. But no one knew how long his patience would endure, and if he

chose to send a fleet to Malaga while Spain was closing in a hug of life and death with France, the gains of twenty years might all be lost. Nor was Fernando safer in the north than in the south. The Catalans were enraged against his Holy Office, and this rage extended through the Pyrenees. This feeling opened many a door for the intrigues of France. In letters and theology, the French were liberal, and the brightness of their wit, no less than the vivacity of their lives, gave wing and vogue to what they said. The Catalans were strong in national feeling, but their sense of unity had been wasting in those fierce inquisitorial fires. With every year the French got closer to the Pyrenees. Navarre was still unfriendly. Alain d'Albret, father of the King, was getting ready to conduct an army, by the road of Irun, into Spain. Descending from Pamplona, he could swoop on either Zaragoza or Valladolid, in either of which capitals a liberal soldier, preaching French ideas in theology and government, might find a host of friends.

3. Guter Gomez de Fuensalida, one of the ablest servants in her court, was going to Flanders on the Archduke's business. Isabel bade him pass by way of London, where he was to see and help the Duke. Don Guter was in all her secrets; knowing the objects of her policy, and the means through which she hoped to gain her ends. To him she spoke of things she hardly cared to write; for what is writ remains in evidence, and what she

had to say was not the stuff that people write on tombs. 'Give heed to what Don Guter says,' she wrote to Puebla. 'He can tell you what we want,' she warned Estrada, 'not in what concerns the treaty and betrothal merely, but in what concerns the help we need from England in our wars.' Fernando, who was seeking allies even in the homes of counts and cardinals, was hot for English help, as being the only help that was of instant use. For what great prize, he asked, would England go to war? Would she be tempted by an offer of Guienne and Normandie? If so, the King of Spain would help her with his utmost power in wresting those great provinces from the French. Fernando was prepared to yield his right of making peace. Should Henry doubt him still, he was prepared to give securities for his good faith. But every point, he urged, should be arranged at once, in order that an English army might be hurled at France.

4. While Guter tarried by the road, a batch of letters reached Madrid, a hunting lodge to which the King and Queen had come to spend their Christmas-tide. These letters, written by Estrada, put another aspect on affairs. They told her Grace, that things were better at the English court; that Henry's council was divided in opinion; that a draft of articles had been drawn by friends of Spain; and that the King himself, though silent and inscrutable, was secretly in favour of the match.

If all these things were so, the game was in their hands. They wrote to tell Estrada that he need not wait Don Guter's coming. He might even order Puebla home; entrapping him on board a ship by promises that he should soon go back. No one must interrupt a labour which had taken this auspicious turn.

5. Under this new idea that the King of England wished his son to marry Catharine, Isabel told the Duke, her envoy, what he ought to say and do. He must be cold in word and slow in deed. He was to treat with Henry as the wooer, not the wooed, and lead the world in general to infer that Windsor was soliciting a favour at Madrid. He was to drop all question of Guienne and Normandie, and think of nothing but the marriage. Other things would come in time. But more than all, Estrada was to let the King of England understand that Isabel was conscious of his wishes in the matter, and was giving him the highest proof of her regard in listening to the offers he was pressing on her husband and herself!

6. She had begun to fear the odium that must cling to those who were supposed to have imagined such a marriage. Alessandro had returned; she could not well avoid some talk with him on Catharine's life in Ludlow; and from habit she had always listened to his honest voice. She told her envoy that the odium of originating this alliance must be cast on England. Even in the treaty, Henry must

be represented as the one who had been first to move, and Isabel as the last who had been brought to yield. Henry must be induced, not only to accept of Catharine for his son, but to demand her with such haste and passion, that if shame should come of the affair, that shame would fall on him and not on her. In this new mood of mind, she bade the Duke take note that nothing would be done by him unless he put the treaty into such a shape as would leave her blameless in the eyes of men. She pointed out the way in which she wished this story of her offer to be read; for she was always dreaming of the after time; and thinking how the world would speak of her when she was dead. She meant the tale to run, that Henry and Elizabeth, in order to promote the welfare of their states, had urged her to allow their son, the Duke of York, to marry Catharine; and that she, a good and pious Queen, had met these English overtures with great reserve. She meant it to be told that Henry, acting through his council, had implored her to consent; and that, in pity for their misery, and on grounds of public policy, she had been induced to sacrifice herself. 'You are to go at once to the King,' she wrote, 'and speak to him about the betrothal of our daughter with the Prince. In doing so, you shall tell him we are well aware how much he seeks to bring this match about. And you shall tell him that on account of the love we bear him, and the good we see in it for

every one, we have agreed to grant his prayer.' Estrada was to drop one further hint. 'You are to let his highness understand that we are pleased to see this match take place, because it is good for him and for his realm to be assured of our friendship, and also that of our children and our people, just as it may be good for us to have his friendship now, and in the time to come.'

Book the Ninth.

THE ENGLISH COURT.

CHAPTER I.

KING AND QUEEN.

1502–3.

1. THE year of mourning for their son was spent by Henry and Elizabeth in deeper privacy than ever. Arthur was gone from them; their child, their perfect knight, their prince of song and legend, was no more. Camelot was now a silent city, and Pendragon slept beside that tomb in Worcester where the tapers burnt and mass was sung in honour of the dead. Would Heaven renew to them that loss? Old men who read the stars assured them that the coming year would bring them happier days. That coming year, these sages said, would prove a crown and solace to the Queen. What love could ask and art devise, in memory of the Prince, was done by them. His tomb was treated as a shrine. His will was faithfully observed. His widow was adopted

35760

as a daughter of the royal house. The palaces in which his youth had passed became the objects of their melancholy choice. At every stage of his career religion had been made a witness and a partner of his course. A lady chapel had been built in Winchester where he was born; a chantry had been raised at Farnham, whither he was sent to nurse. Sheen, Eltham, Greenwich, all his favourite homes, had cells without, and shrines within, their gates. These cells and chapels were the objects of their love.

2. If public cares disturbed the King, he tried to shut them out. He soothed the anguish of his soul with secret hope, and with the works of piety and mercy which alone could bring him peace. The day on which the King and Queen were stricken down, on which their hearts were drawn so closely to each other, seemed to lengthen out into a second bridal year. At length, as autumn came, the Queen could whisper words to flood his anxious eyes with light.

3. One duty of these days of mourning was the building of a chapel near the palace gates in which they hoped to slumber side by side, when they had won their rest. At first, this pile had been projected as a shrine; the temple of a royal saint; but though St. Henry had become a popular idol, he had not, as yet, been canonised in Rome. The shrine was turned into a sepulchre and chapel of a line of Tudor kings. The Saxon transept and the Norman aisles were full. Between the ashes of St. Edward,

Henry of Azincour, and Edward the Black Prince, space was left for royal tombs. When Lady Elizabeth died, it had been hard to find a spot in which to lay their child. If Tudor princes were to rest beneath that minster roof, another chapel must be built. Already Henry had prepared a tomb in Windsor, but a wider sweep of thought induced him to abandon that design.

4. His consort had a liking for the abbey. Next to John the Evangelist, St. Peter was her chosen saint; the cloister was her favourite walk; the abbot, Islip, was her personal friend. In early days the Queen had found a refuge with the monks; in later times, the artist who had since become an abbot, had adorned her service-book. More public reasons swayed the King. No edifice in his country could pretend to vie with the great minster as a monument of kings, and as a witness and memorial of events. Sebert, King of the East Saxons, had erected the original church, as evidence of his conversion to the cross. Edgar, King of England, aided by St. Dunstan, had rebuilt that church, in memory of the close of a dynastic war. Edward the Confessor, after pulling down the older piles, had raised a temple worthy of St. Peter, as a nation's thanks to God for her return to independent rule. Henry the Third and Edward the First had beautified the church, in which was placed the sacred rock of Scone; a witness that the kingdoms of the north and south had been united to the farthest isles. All changes

in the nation's course had been recorded in this abbey church. Here slept the holiest Saxon prince and mightiest Saxon saint. Beneath this roof a Norman Duke had been anointed King, and here, in every age, his followers had been crowned.

5. Another day of change had come; a day of change as great as any that had happened in preceding times. A civil war had closed in peace. A union of the rival lines had been secured, and faction had been almost crushed. Wales, so long estranged from her great neighbour, had been reconciled in the presence of a prince of Cymric blood. An English government had been planted in the Irish soil. A prospect had been opened for a second and pacific union of the south and north. Nay, changes more profound were taking place around him; for the age of feudal violence was passing out of sight, and life and thought were taking more domestic and poetic forms. So vast a change should leave a record on the minster, and the King was moved to write that record in his noblest style. A chapel rich and rare should rise against the abbey and become a part of it. Sir Reginald Bray and Abbot Islip were employed in laying out the plans, and in their year of mourning Abbot Islip laid the first stone of the magnificent pile in which the royal mourners had agreed to sleep their silent sleep.

CHAPTER II.

WORKS OF MERCY.

1502-3.

1. In spite of what old men who read the stars had promised her, the Queen was anxious. Offerings to the saints were multiplied. A priest went up and down the land, to Worcester, Ipswich, Woodstock, and Northampton, to deposit alms and offer prayers in her behalf. St. George was much besought. St. Henry was not forgotten. Every shrine that a Madonna was supposed to favour was adorned with gifts. Our Lady of Eton and our Lady of Caversham were besought. The Holy Cross at Windsor, and the Child of Grace at Reading, were implored for aid. The Queen herself set out on pilgrimage. Shrine after shrine was sought, and every day her journey through the land was marked by gentle deeds; by feeding the poor, clothing the naked, helping the infirm.

2. While the anxious Queen was out on pilgrimage, the King was busy with improvements in his capital. The priory of St. John of Clerkenwell was much enlarged. Baynard Castle was completed as a personal residence for the Queen. An abbot's

house was being built in Westminster. All these additions to his capital were built in that domestic and pacific style which marked the close of an old reign of strife, when every man's house was his castle, and every man's life depended on his coat of mail. One type of what this reign of peace was calling into being, was a project for converting the great palace of Savoy into a hospital for the poor.

3. This pile was dear to Henry as a special heritage of the house of Lancaster. Built by Peter of Savoy, Earl of Richmond, it had come to Edward, first Earl of Lancaster, by whom it had been greatly strengthened and enlarged. Thus early had the names of Lancaster and Richmond been united. Once again these names of Lancaster and Richmond had been wedded at the Savoy, when Blanche, sole daughter of Henry, first Duke of Lancaster, had married John of Gaunt, twelfth Earl of Richmond, who had afterwards been created second Duke of Lancaster. Henry the Fourth had made the Savoy a second Tower. Too vast for any subject to reside in, it was left in lonely splendour by the Thames, except when some great sovereign had to be received in state. Here John of France had lived and died. In common speech, the Savoy was regarded as the house of John of Gaunt. Wat Tyler had destroyed it out of spite for John of Gaunt; Jack Cade had ruined it a second time in spite for John of Gaunt. As Henry gazed upon the wide and ghastly wreck—fit emblem of a reign of feudal power, assailed and broken in a storm of

popular wrath—a great conception came into his mind. This waste, he said, should be repaired. This site, so cursed to the old line of Lancaster, should be redeemed to the new line of Lancaster. As yet, the Savoy was connected in the popular mind with deeds of violence; henceforth it should be known by acts of charity and peace.

4. Provision for the poor and sick was scanty, even in London, where the monks had priories and hospitals fit for princes of the blood. The dole served out at convent gates was meagre, and the shelter given in convent yards was rough. A poor man had no right within the convent walls, and in his wayside songs he raised his wail and curse. He saw a lordly pile of stone; he heard a glorious anthem in the church; he fancied a refectory warm with game and wine; and turned away from all this art and wealth, to munch in bitterness of heart his crust of barley bread. The monks had palaces like the priory of St. John, the priory of St. Bartholomew, the convent of Christ Church, the convent of the Crutched Friars; and yet those holy fathers had not built one fit receptacle for the blind and lame, the broken and insane. A hideous and contagious malady had caused the foundation of lazar-houses at St. James' in the Fields, St. Giles' in the Fields, St. Mary's in Kingsland, and in old Kent Road, where male and female lepers were received in fear and left to herd apart from men. These wretches were supposed to be accursed of God.

Each lazar-house was parted from the nearest street by open fields, which the afflicted ones were not allowed to pass. If any one escaped, he was pursued with sticks and stones, and driven with imprecations to his lair. These lazar-houses were not large, nor were the inmates many. Next to the lazar of St. James's, that of St. Mary, Kingsland, had the greatest name; yet Pope, a wealthy citizen, had bequeathed to it in sober charity a gift of eighty pence a year.

5. Four houses, if not more, called hospitals, existed in his capital; poor types of what was needed on the largest scale; St. Catharine's hospital near the Tower; St. Bartholomew's hospital near Smithfield; Elsinge's hospital near London Wall; and Bethlehem hospital near Bishop's Gate. All four were lay in origin and spirit. St. Catharine's hospital had been founded by the two Queens, Maud and Elinor, as a home for women. St. Bartholomew's hospital had been founded by the court jester, Rayer, for the treatment of disease. Elsinge's hospital had been built by William Elsinge, mercer, as an asylum for the blind. Bethlehem hospital had been endowed by Simon Fitzwary, sheriff, as a refuge for the hopelessly insane. These hospitals were small in size, and if the revenues of some were growing great, the money was consumed in buying plate and vestments rather than in building wards. A home for ten or twelve persons was esteemed a great affair. In every case the clerical staff was larger than the

number of patients. For a dozen poor men or women there were twenty canons, priests, monks, nuns, and singing men. St. Catharine's hospital, near the Tower, was rich in silver cups, in jewelled crosses, in embroidered altar-cloths, but it was poor and weak at every point in which a public hospital should be strong. The wards were few, the bread given out was scant; but in revenge the chapel was a gem of art, the garden worthy of a royal duke. St. Catharine's hospital was a palace of abuse.

6. Another sort of hospital was already taking shape in Henry's mind. It was to be connected with the memory of his son, for every gracious thought and pious deed were now connected with the memory of his peerless prince. A true asylum for the poor and helpless, with provision for a hundred beds at once, and means to add a second hundred beds soon after, was the royal dream. A chapel should be part of his foundation, with a modest service of Observant friars. This hospital should bear the name of John the Baptist, and a daily mass should be devoted in the chapel to the good of Arthur's soul. Clean beds and wholesome food must be provided. Every one should enter and retire at will. The doors were to be open, and the wards were to be free. In brief, his palace of the Savoy should be made a palace for the poor.

CHAPTER III.

ELIZABETH THE GOOD.

1503.

1. News came in from Italy, where a combat had been fought, which caused more stir in street and camp than many a field where crowns are lost and won. A knight, in heavy French array, was sneering at the lighter horse of Spain, attired and drilled in Moorish fashion. An indignant horseman answered that the Spanish cavalry were equal to the French. A combat was proposed; eleven selected knights being chosen to contend for victory on either side. A field was lent by a Venetian admiral at Trana, on the Adriatic coast, below the walls of that small harbour of Barletta in which Gonsalvo, closely pressed by Nemours, was awaiting help from Spain. The bravest knights and swiftest riders were to lead the rest; Paredes on the Spanish side, and Bayard on the Gallic side. This fight came off, and lasted from the opening of the lists till dark. A blare of horns—a rush of steeds—a cry of *Vive la France!*—an answering cry of *Viva España!*—and a mass of mail and men lay sprawling on the ground. Four French steeds were dead. Three Spaniards were dismounted by the shock, but not one Spanish

charger had been hurt. Again the horns gave tongue; again the knights advanced. More horses fell. They fought all day with varying fortune. As the sun went down, the Venetian judges closed the lists. Two Frenchmen only, Bayard and another, had contrived to keep their seats. Seven Spaniards sat their saddles when the names were called. A Caliph might have bonneted to these Spanish knights; but neither side could claim a victory, since neither side had wholly cleared the ring.

2. This combat was the war in brief; and Henry had to wait, like the Venetian judges, for events to speak. If Nemours crushed Gonsalvo, Spain would be too much reduced to urge her project; if Gonsalvo routed Nemours and recovered Naples, she might press her project to the point of war. He knew the Queen of Spain, and he had no desire to fight. In truth, he wished Queen Isabel to regard him as her nearest ally, for he had an object to attain by her and through her of the highest moment, which he could not hope to gain against her will.

3. When he had met the Archduke Philip in a church near Calais, he had sounded him on certain schemes, and found the Archduke well content to meet his views. The Archduke's infant, Carlos, was three months old, and Mary, Henry's youngest daughter, four years and three months old. He thought the boy and girl would make a pair, and he was sure that such a marriage would support the glory of his house. For Carlos was heir of Germany and Spain; his wife would hold the highest female

dignity on earth. But there were many obstacles for him to overcome. The Emperor was unfriendly to his suit, and Philip, though he called him father, and professed to love him as a son, was playing an ambiguous game. Though talking to the King of Lady Mary, he was bargaining with Louis for the hand of Madame Claude. But Isabel was a greater obstacle than either Philip, Max, or Claude. Prince Carlos was Isabel's next male heir, and her consent, with that of her estates, would have to be procured before the Prince could pledge himself to marry any one. That Isabel would start objections was a thing of course; that she would make conditions was a thing of course. If Henry meant to gain a hearing for his suit in Spain, he must be careful not to wake a sense of personal injury in Isabel's heart.

4. While every one was waiting on events, a change occurred at court which robbed the Princess Catharine of her truest friend. In spite of pious prayers and gentle deeds, the Queen continued frail in health. Her spirits sank within her as that hour approached of which she had been whispering to the King. A train of nurses came to Baynard Castle, where she loved to lodge, as having been her son's last home in London. An apartment in the Tower was put in order to receive her, for the King desired his second Arthur to be born in that old palace of his race. But he would not allow her to retire too soon. To cheer her mind, he carried her from house to house; rode down with her to Eltham, where the children had been nursed; held water parties for her

on the Thames; and made a merry Christmas-tide for her at Richmond Park. She entered into all his pastimes; played a game at cards; drank posset; chatted with Patch, her fool; looked on a Spanish dance; and listened while her minstrels sang. For each she had a smile and a reward. From Richmond stairs she rowed to Hampton Court, a favourite house with her; and strewing every path with gifts and graces dropt again to London, where at length she 'took her room.' Stern rules forbade the King to be with her; but he was nigh at hand in case his presence was desired. When she had passed into her rooms, the curtains closed on her, and she was lost to sight. A joiner put up shelves for books, and Patch took in a dish of pomegranates. On Candlemas-day her child was born; a girl, a lovely girl, yet one more helpless child, who brought no strength to her uncertain line. She heard the news, and never raised her head again. The stars had played her false; the King, her husband, had received a blow. She looked upon her infant's face; and called it by the name of that poor Lady of the Pomegranate, who, in circumstances strangely like, had caused her parents such a pang at Alcala. The Queen could do no more. Her strength was gone. Nine days she waited for the angels to descend. Her birthday came; her thirty-seventh year was done; and on that happy day she closed her eyes. The stars that promised her a crown had kept their word.

5. At first, the King could hardly think of peril in connexion with his wife. So young, so beautiful,

so brave, what traffic could she have with death? He sent for doctors far and near. One man of name, who lived near Gravesend, was compelled by him to travel through the wintry night, with guides and torches, from his village to the Tower. But whether he could see the thing or not, her time had come and gone. When all was over he retired into his room, nor would he suffer any one to break upon his lonely grief. The silent hours were long, and when he issued from his chamber to attend the council, it was noted that his eyes sought out the persons who had been about his wife. They needed much support, these faithful servants, for a sweeter mistress was not likely to be found again on earth. The King went up into their rooms, and sat with them, and spoke a word of comfort in their ears. Nor was he satisfied with speaking to the lords and ladies who had served her; for he sent Sir Charles Somerset and Sir Richard Guildford to every one, high and low, with his 'good words' in dear remembrance of his wife. All pious pomp of woe was lavished on the partner of his youth. A grave was opened in that chapel near the Abbey church. The infant, too, had fallen asleep and was no more. Mother and child were laid together in the yet unfinished shrine; and underneath her chosen motto,

Humble and Penitent,

the earth was piled on all that men could see of what had been Elizabeth the Good.

CHAPTER IV.

EDMOND DE LA POLE.

1503.

1. EDMOND DE LA POLE, the Yorkist exile, was at Aachen, living under Max's favour and engaged in plots for the recovery of his kingdom. The affair at Santa Clara, where the Excellenta of Castille was lodged, enabled Isabel to gauge the value of this Yorkist exile to the royal house. By Arthur's death, the hopes of Pole, and of the partizans of Pole, were greatly raised. Apart from Richard's will and acts of settlement, Pole was next male heir to Henry's second son. 'The Emperor must be told,' he wrote to his commissioner at the Kaiser's court, 'that if Prince Henry were to die, my title would be clear beyond dispute.' Of course, some females stood before him, but much cooler men than Pole endorsed his view, that females, though they might transmit a legal right, could never wear the English crown. Thus Pole was next in order of succession to the Prince of Wales. 'The King is much afraid of him,' said the Venetian agent, Mocenigo, to the Doge and Signory.

2. The thought had come to Isabel in her turret,

that a prince who would not arm for an illusory right in France might fall into her plans through fear of Edmond de la Pole. A man so busy with his shrines and hospitals, would not like his works to be disturbed. A prince so slow to fight, would make some sacrifice for the sake of peace. A monarch bent on curbing factions, would do much to keep the Red Rose and the White from rallying into hostile camps. In brief, she fancied that a king who sought for unity through peace might be persuaded to adopt her offers, if he could be shown that his acceptance of those offers was the surest guarantee of a pacific reign at home. Then rose the question, how could she proceed to act upon his hopes and fears? If Pole had been at Avila instead of Aachen, her proceeding might have been as swift in execution as in thought—'Sign me,' she might have said, 'this marriage contract, and receive your rebel, Edmond de la Pole.' But Pole was in the Emperor's country, not in hers. What means had she of acting on the Emperor, so that Edmond's fate might seem to hang upon her word? The best—and worse—a sovereign could desire. The Emperor's son—his only son—was in her power.

3. When Miguel's death had left Juana heiress of Castille, Philip and his consort had repaired to Spain in order to receive the formal recognition of their rights. No opposition had been raised to them, like that which had disturbed the peace of Isabel, for Philip's wife was popular in the cities

and the towns, whatever might be said of her in the inquisitor's cell. Toledo was not readier to acclaim her rights than Zaragoza, where the Friends of Light could hail in her the promise of a Queen of Light. For her the cities had resumed a gaiety they had not known for years; all sumptuary laws being set aside; and every man appearing in the streets in silk and plumes, according to his taste. High festivals had been held, and bull-fights given in honour of the pair; but Philip, used to the free air and joyous life of Ghent, had sickened of the monkish court, and told the Queen he should go back to Flanders. But he had not been allowed to leave Castille. From week to week the Queen had raised objections to his going. Oaths were to be sworn; Juana was in feeble health; more bulls and horses must be gored and stabbed. Month followed month, and lengthened to a year; yet Philip and his wife were kept in Spain. Some voices in the Kaiser's court were asking whether Philip had not fallen into a snare? That Isabel could seize him as a hostage, Max had bitter proof in her behaviour to his cousin, and her niece, the Excellenta, who had been so long her prisoner in a foreign convent. After such a crime, the mere detention of his son in Spain would seem a trifle. Max grew more alarmed as days flew by. At length some hint was dropped, that Philip's freedom to depart from Spain might turn upon the Emperor's action in regard to Edmond de la Pole.

4. His standing in regard to Pole was awkward. Max had caused him to retire from London; Max had recognised him as a cousin; Max had given him an asylum in his states; and Max had promised him his best support. Such acts were serious, even to a man so great and flighty as the Emperor. When Pole first fled from London, he had simply crossed the straits to Guisnes and Hamme, where two strict Yorkist captains held command. Tyrell had been at Guisnes, while Curzon lay at Hamme. These partizans had received him till he made his peace. When Pole went back to London, Curzon had requested leave to enter the Imperial service as a champion of the Cross; and having fought in Hungary with high distinction, had been made a baron of the Empire, and promoted to a place at court. He had been treated as an agent for the Yorkist prince. Invited by the Emperor to assume the part of a pretender, Pole had taken counsel with his Yorkist friends, Grey, Bourchier, Courtney, and with their concurrence had resolved to fly. 'Tell him,' the Emperor had said to Curzon, 'if so great a member of the House of York will come to me, and trust in my protection, I will help him more than any man alive to win his crown.' On this Imperial promise, Pole had sped to the imperial court at Imst.

5. Received with smiles and favours, Pole had ventured to remind the Emperor of his promise; but to promise was an easy thing to Max; as easy

as to spend his money; while to keep a promise was as hard as keeping out of debt. To vex the King of England was to injure Antwerp, Bruges, and Ghent. Not long ago, the English council had suspended trade with Flanders, and the clamour of his cities had compelled him to appease the Tudor prince. What those free towns might do, he had already seen, and shrank from raising such a storm as that of Bruges. While Max was musing on his broken promise, Pole had flushed with heat. 'Let me retire, and seek my fortune in another place;' but Max had been as loth to let him go, as he had been unglad to see him come. He feared that Pole might go to France. His cousin, he had cried, should stay with him at Imst, and when he left that place should have an escort worthy of a prince. An Emperor could not see a cousin robbed. Let Henry Tudor look for storms!

6. Pole's chief attendant in his flight had been his steward, Thomas Killingworth, on whom had fallen the task of shaping ways and means. Bontemps, the Imperial treasurer, had devised with Killingworth a scheme for raising money. Bontemps had written a letter of credit in the Emperor's name, on certain bankers and officials in the town of Aachen. Max had undertaken to provide five thousand men-at-arms for three months, with ships to carry them across the sea, and means to land them safely on the English shore. The Emperor, who had neither troops nor fleets to lend, and was so

poor in purse that he was forced to leave his wife in pawn at country inns, till money could be sent to pay his bills, imagined he could get Heinrich, Graf von Ardek, to supply the men, and Hans, King of Denmark, to supply the ships. In ninety days, the Yorkist prince (having landed on the coast, subdued the country, and obtained his crown) would have to make his choice of either paying off these troops, or sending out an equal tale of men to help the Emperor in his wars. These pledges given and taken, Pole had sped to Aachen, the Imperial city, where he was to show his letter, get his ducats, and await the coming of his troops.

CHAPTER V.

MAX AND POLE.

1503.

1. AROUSED by tales of Pole's success at the Imperial court, the Tudor Prince had taken measures to defend his crown. His first success had been with Rome. In every tussle with the House of York he had relied on Holy Church. A papal brief had carried him to Redland Marsh; a papal bull had smitten Simnel; and a papal bull had crushed the Rose of York. The blackened corpse of Swit had been a witness for the Church and King. The poisonous Cornish ale had proved that Henry was a favourite of Heaven. A prayer had, therefore, been preferred in Rome; and Rome had given her servant all he asked. A censure had been shown by Warham in a solemn service at St. Paul's; in which good Catholics had been told that to rebel against the King was to rebel against the God who made him king.

2. At Imst, his efforts had been less complete. Not daring to provoke the English Court too far, the Kaiser had proposed to name commissioners who might confer with certain English councillors on the question in

dispute. Warham had crossed to Antwerp, with instructions to demand the banishment of Pole, and other matters; but these other matters were to turn on the affairs of Pole. If Max would give up Pole, the King was ready to become his friend, and to renew with him, against the Turk, a league which he had formerly made with him against the French. But nothing had been done. When the commissioners arrived at Antwerp, they had wasted days and weeks in trifles; and when Warham, weary of such tricks, had pushed them to the wall at last, they had replied that they were agents for the Archduke, not the Emperor; that they had no authority to speak of Pole; that if the English envoys raised Imperial questions they must wait for new instructions from their master. Warham had returned to London satisfied that Max's objects were to make a little money and to gain a little time.

3. In feverish mood the Yorkist Prince had waited in the town of Charles the Great. No troops had come; no money had been raised. The banks refused to cash the Kaiser's note, and Pole had raised more money on his credit as an English peer than he could muster as the Emperor's friend. At length he heard from Killingworth that Ardek had arrived at the Imperial court without a single man-at-arms; declaring that his lances would not fight for Pole unless their pay was furnished in advance. This blow had almost crushed the exile; for to raise so large a sum as Ardek asked was hopeless. 'Keep

your heart up,' said the Emperor; 'if the present way has failed another can be tried.' But while this Yorkist prince was fretting in the streets of Aachen, news had come from England to appal a stouter heart than his. William de la Pole, his youngest brother, had been flung into the Tower. Courtney had been carried to that prison which he was not to leave again whilst Henry Tudor lived. More startling still had been the fate of Tyrrel. A detachment, marching out of Calais, had summoned Tyrrel to submit. This Yorkist plotter, fearing that his end was nigh, had closed the gates of Guisnes. Would he come out and parley? Yes, he had replied, he would, if Bishop Fox would pledge his honour that he should be free to come and go unharmed. The Bishop having given a promise, Tyrrel, after settling with his son a private token, came into the English camp. Scant ceremony had been used with him. He was arrested and conveyed on board a ship, where Lovel, with a glance that quelled his spirit, bade him send a token of surrender to his son. 'If he refuses,' Lovel thundered, 'fling him into the sea.' At once he gave the token; and a few weeks later he was put to death.

4. The Kaiser wanted help in gold. A war was raging on his frontier with an enemy of the Cross. All Catholic kings, he said, were bound to aid him with supplies. But Henry had been slow to answer those appeals. A war to liberate the Holy Sepulchre and free the multitude of slaves, the English

sovereign understood. That Sepulchre was in the hands of infidels, and every Moslem port from Tangiers to Smyrna, was dotted with the forms of Christian slaves. Since Malaga had been captured, and her citizens sold by Isabel, a wide extension had been given to this infernal trade. Retaliation is the law of human wrong, and after Spain had set her foul example, every fanatic in Islam had endeavoured to revenge the Crescent on the Cross. The Moslem were the conquering race, and even under Bajazet the passions of a marabout could seldom be restrained. No sultan used his power against the Christians as the King and Queen of Spain abused their power against the Moors and Jews, yet victory on victory had brought so many prisoners to the Moslem camps that third-rate cities had so many as twenty thousand Christian slaves in each. A war to liberate these slaves was what the King of England called a holy war. But Pesth was not a sacred city, and to fight with Bajazet for the Danube was an enterprise as worldly as to fight with Louis for the Rhine. On hearing that ambassadors were coming from the Emperor to seek assistance in this spurious 'holy war,' Henry had stopt them with a word, 'Let those who cannot beat the Turks make peace.' Yet Warham, having seen how much a little coin might wring from Max, proposed to pay a certain sum of money, under pretext of an offering for the war in Hungary, if Max would sign a treaty binding him to drive the Yorkist fugitive from his states. Max hummed and paused;

but less at the dishonour of his deed, than at the sum of money he could get for banishing his cousin Pole. The King of England offered him ten thousand pounds in gold. He wanted more, and Henry would not give another groat. At length the Emperor snatched his pen and signed the document, on which an English envoy paid him down ten thousand pounds.

5. As soon as Max had signed a treaty, binding him to banish Pole, both France and Spain took measures to secure his person. Though he could not leave his house for duns, the Yorkist Prince was now a pivot of events. While Louis and Fernando were at strife, the King of England held the sword, and as he struck the victory seemed likely to incline; but neither Louis nor Fernando could persuade the King to strike. If either had the young pretender in his hands, his means of acting on the English court, where the domestic question of the dynasty was everything, would be enormously increased. Each knew that when the Emperor had withdrawn his countenance from Pole, the Prince would lie exposed to every one's attack; and that a little gold would pay a gang of ruffians to entrap him, seize him, and carry him beyond the sea. Louis professed his willingness to undertake this job. Among the host of friends and well-wishers whom he had in Germany, some, he said, would readily oblige him. Pole was coming to the Palatinate from Aachen. If he came, he would be near the French frontier, and might be waylaid, gagged,

and brought across. If Henry wished him to be stolen, Louis informed him by an agent he was willing to engage the ruffians and supply the means.

6. Isabel had tried to gain her ends through Max. Her envoy, Manuel, had her orders to support the English views; but Max took little notice of his words, and dallied with the message till the English money had been spent. A river running to the sea, that gold had slipt away unseen, and drifted towards an unknown shore. When his last coin was gone, the Kaiser had begun to feel some qualms. Had he been doing what beseemed a king of men? Who was the prince whom he had signed away for so much dross? A kinsman, nay a guest. Could he in nature drive that kinsman from his door? Could he in honour sell that guest? This man was not his captive, whom he had a right to vend for his own profit. Pole, who had a great position and a fine estate, had come into his country freely, on a promise that he should be helped. Yet Max had taken money from a foe to turn that guest and kinsman from his door. That money was no less the wages of his shame because it bore the decent name of contribution towards a holy war. What could a Knight and Kaiser do to save his honour and to keep his pledge? A lucky fancy started in his brain. He, Max, was not an ordinary man. He had two beings and estates. He was an Archduke and an Emperor; he ruled a petty province and a mighty realm. Suppose he were to say it was the

Archduke Max, and not the Emperor Max, who had subscribed the articles? As Archduke he might keep his faith with Henry, while as Emperor he could still provide a home for Pole. This lucky fancy was adopted; Pole being banished from the Austrian states, but left to choose a home in any other place. At Aachen, far from the hereditary states, this act might seem a ponderous joke; but Englishmen, to whom this breach of treaty brought a fear of civil war, raised loud complaint. Max tried to put them off, and when he had been driven to bay, he answered that he could not banish Pole from an Imperial town.

7. In dealing with the Emperor, Isabel had no scruples as to means. She held the person of his son; and took a course that brought him to abandon Pole. She wrote to Manuel and Estrada, urging them to press the matter. Manuel was to work on Max, and on the councillors who surrounded Max. The King of England must, she said, be gratified, and things must happen so that he would owe his peace and happiness to her, and her alone. She warned Estrada of the risk they ran if Pole should fall into the hands of Louis. Louis would make his market of the Prince. To save appearances, they should endeavour to procure a pardon for the Yorkist Prince. At every interview, Estrada should inform the King how heartily she was labouring in his cause, and every one about the King should be impressed with an idea that no other hand than hers

could bring the Emperor to terms. Max quailed before advice so thinly veiled as hardly to conceal the threat. He urged his cousin to submit; and Henry soon became aware what sort of magic Isabel had used in the Imperial court. 'One of the most special causes' why he yielded, said the Emperor, 'was for the sure conveying of his son from Spain.'

CHAPTER VI.

THE ROYAL WIDOWER.

1503.

1. While Henry kept his room in grief, his council, busy with the question of his dynasty, were searching in and out among the courts of Europe for a lady worthy to become the mother of a race of English kings. They dared not waste a year in mourning for the dead. The King was growing old; his health was giving way; his eldest and his youngest sons were dead. He had no brothers and no nephews to replace these sons. No more than one male life, and that of one too young for wedlock, stood between the crown and chaos. At an early time, the councillors thought, the King must be implored to choose another bride, and every lady whom a King of England might select to share his throne became an object of their care. They looked through every court, from Stockholm to Naples. Fox knew Henry well enough to see how much their choice was governed by his tastes. Youth first, and beauty next, then royal birth, and after these a goodly portion, were the things to be desired; and lacking which no woman could be sug-

gested to the royal mourner as a future queen. Not many ladies then alive had youth, beauty, birth, and money, in the full degree.

2. While they were looking here and there, some unknown agent dropped a hint to Puebla that the widowed King might be induced to marry Catharine, if her hand were offered to him on the part of Spain. A woman young and comely, born of royal race, and pensioned as became her station, she had every quality of birth and person which the council were employed in seeking through the world.

3. Who dropped these hints in Puebla's ear? With what intentions were they dropped? These questions find an answer in the facts. The man who dropped these hints could not have been the King; for Henry was secluded in a mourning-room, in which he would not see a soul beyond his children and confessor. Puebla had no access to that mourning-room. Nor could he have been a councillor of rank, like either Fox or Warham. Puebla had no charge of Catharine's hand. Estrada was at Durham House, and was the only man to whom a councillor could have spoken; and Estrada never heard of these proposals till he found them in his letters out of Spain. If any councillor had talked to Puebla, Puebla would have named him to the Queen; for he was eager to undo Estrada; and his only means of injuring him were proofs of his superior influence at the court. Yet hints of such a marriage may have dropped from some low agent of the cloister and the street. We

know where Puebla lived; we know what company he kept. Among his daily mates, it would be easy for a man in office to select a fitting agent for his purposes. What were his purposes? If the intentions were to draw the Queen into a trap, and put an obstacle in Estrada's way, the means employed were well adapted to the ends in view, and those who used them had a rare success.

4. The parties who were fighting in the council had a firm conviction that the Queen of Spain would not engage her daughter to an aged prince who had a son alive to wear his crown. In such a match, her daughter would become a secondary queen; male children of that daughter would be younger sons. A little while she might be queen in name, and then her reign would close, her state would pass away, and she would fade from public sight into the luxury of a country-house. What power would such a woman have to rule events, to send out fleets, to govern treaties, to dispose of princes, and to marshal armies in the field? No more than abbesses of Dartford and St. Mary's. But if Catharine had no power to guide events, the object of her going into England would be lost for Spain. This power was all in all to Isabel. She needed Catharine on the English throne, and Catharine's children on the English throne. What she had done in Lisbon, she desired to do in London, and her purposes could only be accomplished if the English crown descended to an Anglo-Spanish prince. The men who stood against

her, and against the Duke her agent, would be sure aforehand that the Queen would listen to no hints for marrying Catharine to the King. Yet, in the form of her refusal she might place a weapon in their hands. A mother, she was likely, in her first surprise, to start and storm. Suppose she were to flush with holy rage, forget Estrada's mission, and assume a tone of outraged virtue? She was likely, in her pious scorn, to overlook the fact that such a union might appear in neutral eyes the counterpart of that projected by herself.

5. If Warham caused this trap to be prepared for Isabel, he must have smiled to see how soon she fell into his toils. The cripple's note was barely in her hands at Alcala before she snatched a pen, and wrote a long and furious answer, charging Puebla with neglect in not preventing such a thing, and urging him to use his utmost industry and skill to set the matter right. All day, and all next day, she raged and wrote in the Archbishop's palace to Estrada. Two of her most secret cyphers were employed, and these two cyphers were so closely mixed that not a single passage could be read except by one who had the double set of keys. 'This project of a marriage of the King of England with the Princess of Wales, our daughter,' she exclaimed, 'is an abomination of the lowest kind. So vile a thing was never seen! So gross a word offends our ears. No, not for all the world would we consent.' Again she wrote: 'If any word of such a

thing be dropped to you, make answer that the thing can never be; that we will not endure it; nay, that we will never hear of such a thing.' She saw the consequences of debating such a question. 'Why!' she added, 'if this notion gets abroad, it will prevent the treaty for a union of our daughter with the Prince of Wales.' A dozen times she dwelt on this idea. 'If the King of England wants another wife, we can assist him in his choice. There is a lady of our family who would suit him well: our niece, the Queen of Naples; who is young, rich, lovely, and would console him for his recent loss. If he would marry her, the union of our kingdoms would be strengthened by the fact. Inquire if he is willing, and prepare conditions for the match; but keep your counsels very close, and let no man suspect that you are moving in this great affair.' Of Catharine, she concluded, Henry must 'never be allowed to dream.'

6. Yet Isabel's canons and confessors could have told her, that the thing which seemed so startling in the one proposal had its double in the other. To her daughter Catharine, both the Henries stood within the first degree; one law of Scripture ruled them out. Since she had made no contract with the youth, she was as free to marry with the King as with the Prince; as free, but not one jot more free; and Puebla's 'hints,' whoever dropped them in his ear, had the effect of stripping every vestige of illusion from the Spanish scheme.

CHAPTER VII.

WAITING FOR EVENTS.

1503.

1. WHILE waiting for Gonsalvo's guns to speak, Estrada was commanded and entreated to be quicker in his work. 'You shall contrive by all the ways and means within your reach to get the betrothal of the Prince and Princess settled,' she enjoined him. 'After you have had an audience of the King, and offered him consolation on our part, you must set about your special business, that of getting Catharine lawfully contracted to the Prince of Wales.' Estrada was to try once more the comedy of a flight to Spain; to say he would depart, to charter ships, to put his household stuff on board. 'You must say what dishonour would be done to the Princess and to us, if she, being a woman and our child, should have to stay waiting in England, and made to appear as if she were waiting and wishing for the said marriage. Therefore, we command you by all ways and means that you can use to endeavour to have the actual betrothal concluded without delay.'

2. Pedro de Avila, one of Isabel's fleetest couriers, started from Alcala with these reproaches

and commands, took ship, and racing at his utmost speed arrived at Durham House in thirty-two days. He brought two legal documents to London; one a joint opinion of the doctors of Salamanca, that even if the marriage articles said nothing of a restitution of dowry, and even if the laws of England said that restitution could not be demanded; yet as the imperial law and canon law held otherwise, the English King was bound to repay the hundred thousand crowns, and to deliver into Catharine's hands the rents and manors settled on her by the Prince of Wales. The second paper was a copy of Dr. Angulo's opinion in the same premises. Angulo was not so clear as the Salamanca jurists. While asserting that the law provided for repayment of the dowry, he admitted three exceptions to his rule; one of which was that no restitution could be demanded in a case 'where the custom of the country gave a woman's marriage-portion to her husband.' Isabel's agent fell to work, by calling on the King to speak his mind, by chartering ships to carry Catharine back, and pressing the unwilling councillors to yield. The King was close as ever, though Estrada saw that in his heart he was against the match. The councillors met him with divided smiles and shrugs. The Queen of Spain had shown her power to work on Max in the affair of Pole; but happily for them, the time in which she could have used that power with full effect was gone. Philip was quitting Spain.

3. Philip had gone to Spain expecting much. Beyond a recognition of his wife's succession to the several crowns, he wanted titles, power, and money for himself. At first he had been charmed with every one he met. His wife was popular, and every town through which they passed ran wild with joy. But from the day on which he met Juana's parents he began to sink. He feared the King, whose cold, metallic smile he felt in every vein; he vexed the Queen, whose court of monks and priests he could not bear. Fernando hated him on many grounds, and though Fernando was an artist in deceit, his loathing and contempt for Philip were too strong to hide. If Isabel were to die, Juana would be queen, with Philip as king-consort of Castille. Castille was Spain. Fernando would be simply King of Aragon and Duke of Athens. In his actual power he would be hardly greater than a king of Portugal or a king of Scots. If Philip had been soft and yielding, ready to confide in him, Fernando might have left the laws to take their course. But Philip was not pliant. Young and vain, he thought himself the wisest man on earth. He asked to be associated in the royal office. He demanded money, and would take no answer but the sum for which he asked. In presence of this silly lad, and an adoring wife who could not say him nay, Fernando saw no way to save himself when Isabel should be gone to her account than by depriving Philip's consort of her regal powers. To carry out this scheme, he was

obliged to seek from Isabel, not only her assent, but her express approval and her personal help. She was the Queen; without her nothing could be done. Juana was her daughter, and Fernando could not smite his child excepting by her mother's hand. That mother gave him every aid. Her mind had been prepared by the Dominican fathers for the deed she was about to do; a deed which has few parallels in the history of royal crime. Their plot against their child exceeds in infamy the plot by which her niece, the first unfortunate Juana, had been outraged and dethroned.

4. A Cortes had been summoned to Toledo, where Juana and her lord were publicly received and recognised as future queen and king. In private other things had been discussed. A case was put before some managers of the Cortes whom the Queen could trust. Suppose, when Isabel died, Juana should be either absent from Spain, or should wish to leave the country soon; suppose, again, when Isabel died, Juana should be either unwilling or unable to assume the government; what should be done? They could not leave the state without a head. These managers were moved to beg their Queen, as though they had themselves perceived the coming evil, to arrest a great calamity by naming, while she lived and ruled, the King, her husband, and Administrator of the kingdom, after she was gone. How far these managers were inclined to meet her views can only be inferred. Before the King's affair could be

arranged, the Cortes had to be adjourned from the liberal capital to the hunting palace at Madrid, and from the hunting palace at Madrid to the monkish cloisters at Alcala. Philip began to think his personal safety touched. He spoke of going home to Ghent. They tried to keep him back, by working on his fears. The time, they urged, was winter, and the mountains lay in snow. All roads were bad in Spain, and in the Pyrenees the very tracks were lost. His wife was delicate, unfit to travel, and unable to escape the duties of her rank. To all entreaties he was deaf. Road or no road, wife or no wife, he would go, and go without delay. But would he face the winter tempests? No; he would return by land. But Spain was then at war with France, and going home by land meant going home through France. But Philip would not yield. He thought captivity in France as good as what he had to dread in Spain. He felt they were detaining him, and feared they would confine him in some lonely fortress like their Castle of the Mount. At last he broke away, and put his mother-in-law's daring to the test. She shrank from using force; he passed the frontier, and thus her means of acting on the English court through Max and Pole was gone.

5. Louis had the prudence to receive the Archduke with a royal welcome. He proposed to bring about a peace between the kings of France and Spain. Fernando, fearing he would do some mischief, sent Fray Bernard Boyl to watch him and to

keep him straight. A limited power to treat with Louis had been given to Philip, as a curb on his desire to sign a separate treaty; but the paper had been framed with so much cunning that Fernando was at liberty to accept and to refuse at will whatever he might do. With Boyl beside him, Philip might be kept from doing harm. But Philip was no prince to ask a monk's advice. At Lyons, where the King of France was holding court, he found himself the object of a thousand flatteries. The ladies stole his heart, the princes turned his head. Between a banquet and a ball, the articles of a treaty were arranged. Don Carlos was to marry Madame Claude. The rights of Spain and France in Naples were to fall on Karl and Claude, who were to take the names of King and Queen. Until the children came of age, that treaty of Granada which Nemours had broken was to be observed. Fernando was excluded from a soil on which the princes of his house had reigned for nearly seventy years. Gonsalvo was forgotten in this paper peace. But while these allies had been signing notes and marrying babes, Fernando had been hiring ships and arming men. On hearing news of a convention which displaced him in a kingdom that was half his own, he gave an order for his fleets to sail.

6. Not often have the clouds of policy been rent and cleared so briskly as they were in the campaign which made Fernando master of Naples. Three weeks after Philip had signed the treaty of Lyons,

Gonsalvo, who had now received supplies of men and cannon, marched from his entrenchments at Barletta, crossed the river Ofanto and the plain of Canne, and encamped his men before the town of Cerignola. All the neighbouring towns were in the hands of Nemours, who was in the field with forces equal to his own. Gonsalvo crouched among the vineyards as the French came up. One hour of day was hardly left; but Nemours ordered an attack; and ere the sun went down Nemours was killed, the French were beaten, and the crown was won. Gonsalvo pushed on rapidly to Benevento, where he sent a herald to the capital, calling on that city to surrender. At Acana he received the keys. Next day he entered Naples, and destroyed the forts to which the French had fled. A castle here and there held out, but all the southern part of Naples was in Spanish keeping, and Fernando could dictate his terms of peace.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE COUNCIL.

1503.

1. 'PUSH the betrothal forward; use your utmost eloquence to get it finished; suffer no delay; but do and say whatever in your judgment will assist you,' Isabel had written to her minister at Durham House. 'Take care that no delays occur; let the matter be arranged at once.' Estrada went to Richmond, where the King was still in mourning for his wife and son, and having gained an audience, urged his message in a tone that could not be denied. A choice of evils lay before the King: to either brave the victors of Cerignola and prepare to fight them, or seem to entertain their offers and refer them to his council for advice. His mind was clear, his purpose fixed. His son, he thought, could never marry Catharine lawfully; and while he reigned, his son should never marry her at all. In time, Fernando came to see that this had always been his firm resolve; but he was not a man who wrote his secrets on his hat for every one to spell. A prince, he had to think of many things which lawyers would not take into account. He

had to think of Pole and Max, Gonsalvo and Fernando. Being fixed in purpose, he was free to follow almost any path his council might suggest in order to avoid the match.

2. Warham, his Chancellor, Fox, his Privy Seal, and Barons, his Master of the Rolls, were all at Richmond near the King. A council was convened, which met in what was then a new and stately palace by the water side. The question laid before them was, in substance, whether he should break with Spain, involve the land in war, provoke disorder in the Yorkist shires, and put his crown and life in jeopardy, by saying what he would and would not do—at once; or, whether he should play a waiting game, receive Estrada on a friendly footing, seem to entertain his offers, and suggest objections on the ground of principle, so that the matter would have to be laid before a board of priests and proctors, who might wrangle on the case for years? If they should take this second view the whole affair might end in an appeal to Rome.

3. The laws of marriage were so vague, so foreign, and so general, that a clever lawyer might propose a riddle to a board of learned men which fifty years of study would not solve. No marriage laws were on the statute-books. An ancient custom of the land described the man and wife as baron and feme—the lord and his woman; but since England had received the gospel, she had put herself, in what concerned her spiritual life, so fully under Church

control, that she had never dreamt of making laws to regulate a sacrament of that Church. Hence, everything depended on the canon law; a foreign law, drawn up by strangers, in a language dead and gone. That law was based on what is written in the word of God; but many clauses had been added to the sacred text. The circle of affinities had been much enlarged. In Scripture the affinities are of the natural kind; in the additions they are mainly of the spiritual kind. Degrees of consanguinity had been multiplied; degrees of affinity had been also multiplied. Affinity had been lifted from the natural order to the spiritual order. If a man had promised a woman by word of mouth to marry her, he could not lawfully wed another, save by dispensation from the Pope; and if a man had been sponsor to a child, he could not lawfully wed the female sponsor, save by dispensation from the Pope. No man could lawfully wed the godmother of his child, except by dispensation from the Pope. The number of prohibited marriages had become so vast that no one dared to fall in love with any woman, save on the consent of his confessor, lest he should stumble into mortal sin.

4. The council were divided. Those who saw the question in the light of Christian law were of opinion that Estrada's offers ought to be declined; while those who saw it in the light of public policy were of opinion that they ought to be received. Warham held the first opinion, Fox the second. Warham was the better lawyer, Fox the craftier

statesman. Few, if any, of their colleagues took so sharp a line. Soldiers, like Surrey and Daubeney, would be guided by events abroad; and councillors, like King and Somerset, by events at home. On every side a prudent course seemed wise. Though Warham would have stopped the case at once, there being, according to his view, no question to debate, more worldly councillors thought the point should be discussed, since they were dealing with the offers of a wise and mighty prince.

5. A cautious course was more to Henry's mind. No harm could spring from giving to the offers of a friendly state a full and serious hearing. When the King had shown a fair desire to weigh them, his rejection of the Spanish offers would be less offensive in the eyes of Spain. To him, the form was nothing if the end were gained. As soon, therefore, as news arrived in London that Gonsalvo was afield, that Nemours was killed, and that the Spaniards were completely masters in the south, Commissioners were named to hear Estrada's offers, to reduce them into proper shape, and put them into English dress. Warham, Fox, and Barons were appointed on the part of England, while Estrada sat alone for Spain.

CHAPTER IX.

ARTICLES.

1503.

1. No sooner were the three English priests and the Spanish grandee seated round the board at Richmond than the question of affinity arose. Some questions lay in store for laymen and diplomatists to handle. How much money would the Princess have? How far would Spain forego her claims to restitution of the former dowry? What security would she give for the fulfilment of her contract? Was the Princess ready to renounce her previous settlements, accepting others in their stead? Was Spain prepared to guarantee the right of Catharine and her offspring to the Crown, according to her claims of birth? These subjects would require to be debated in their season, but the topic of the moment was the question of impediments in blood. Estrada learned, without surprise, that this impediment of blood had raised a Case of Conscience, and a Case of Conscience which could only be resolved by an appeal to Rome.

2. The facts were but too plain. A widow was proposed to Henry, Prince of Wales. That widow

was his sister-in-law. A sister-in-law stands within the first degree of affinity. Marriages of men and women standing in this relation are prohibited by Holy Writ. How could the Spaniards overcome this bar? Estrada had been told to say the Pope would grant a dispensation from the penalties incurred. There would be sin; there would be penalties of sin; so far all priests and lawyers were agreed. To marry was for Henry and for Catharine equally an act of sin. Could Rome dispense alike in earth and heaven of all the penalties incurred by their offence? Estrada said so; but Estrada was no jurist. Fox contended that the Pope had power to deal with such a case; and if a Papal bull were got, a marriage such as that proposed would stand. Warham contended that a pontiff had no power to grant a dispensation from the penalties incurred by such a sin. Nor could he think the Pope would suffer such a question to be argued in his courts.

3. The King's opinion was with Warham rather than with Fox. He, too, considered that a union like the one proposed would be unlawful, and the children tainted in their birth; but he was bound to meet these offers from Toledo as a ruler, not a priest. An insult to the Queen of Spain was war; not only on a foreign soil and in a distant sea, but in his western shires and in his channel ports. A loan of men and money to the fugitive at Aachen would enable Pole to move. In ten weeks half the English counties might be in a blaze. If he would

spare his realm, he must have time; yet time was what Estrada was instructed not to grant. How could he circumvent the Queen? Could he employ the Lady Excellenta for this purpose? He was well aware how much that lady counted in all movements of the Spanish King and Queen. Though he had never dreamt of starting her as a pretender to their throne, he had no reason to refrain from hinting in the court of Isabel that other rulers than herself might play the dangerous game that she was playing with his rival Pole. An instrument lay at hand. One Pietro Guerra, an Italian, who could parley French and Spanish, was at court; a tall and fussy person, not to be employed in serious things, but just the man to play a feigning game. Guerra went to Spain, with orders to appear at court, and talk of having a commission to the Nun. But the affair was far too grave for Henry to rely on such an agent. How could he escape from the immediate pressure put on him by Isabel in her hour of victory? Suppose he met her offers with a plea of conscience, and proposed to lay the question of legality before the Pope? A woman called the Catholic could hardly venture to decline so fair a challenge, and from what he knew of Papal courts he thought the notaries and canonists would be in no great hurry to decide a royal cause. Delay was what he wanted, and delay would come of an appeal to Rome.

4. In offering to refer the question, he assumed

that he was running no great risk; for if his Chancellor and his Master of the Rolls were right in their interpretation of the law, no court could issue breve and bull to cover the attested facts. A Pope, according to the English view, could set aside decrees and canons of the Church, but nothing in his spiritual offices allowed him to suspend the law of God. In matters where the Church had laid down general rules, a Pope might claim the right to modify and even to suspend these rules. To wit; the Church had made a rule that children under fifteen years of age could not contract a lawful union—save by dispensation from the Pope. The Church had made a rule that if a male and female, not of kin, should stand as gossips to a child, they could not afterwards contract a lawful union—save by dispensation from the Pope. The Church had made a rule, that if a male and female of the legal age and free to marry, pledged each other's troth, they could not form another union—save by dispensation from the Pope. Such rules were of the Church, but not of God; and over all such rules the pontiffs were supposed to hold a full dispensing power. But with the plain commands of Holy Writ, forbidding marriage in the first degree, no pope, no court, no college, could dispense; and this opinion of his lawyers, Henry felt assured that every court in Rome would steadfastly uphold.

5. The English priests and Spanish duke agreed in principle on making an Appeal to Rome. Their next step was to frame the articles on which the

parties would appeal. But this was not an easy step to take; for neither party in the matter could accept the other party's facts. In framing any draft whatever, Henry felt he would be led some paces down a road he had no wish to tread. A case implies a contract, and the parties could not go before his Holiness with what would seem to be a spurious suit. How could he make his fiction look like truth? A form of contract must be written out; a contract for the marriage of his son to Catharine; and the pleas would have to be presented in his name and argued by his envoys at the papal court. Let him reject the Spanish offers as he might in secret, he must seem to own them in his public acts. But where so much was to be gained by time, a little might be risked in present fame. The end would prove him right. His lawyers told him that the Pope was certain to reject the suit, however strongly pressed, as soon as he had heard a statement of the facts. These facts were clear enough, and Warham was resolved that Rome, as well as Spain and England, should not blink the truth.

6. A form was therefore drafted by the three English commissioners and submitted to the Spanish duke for his adoption. After stating that the King and Queen of Spain on one side, and the King of England on the other side, agreed to move the Pontiff for a bull, enabling Princess Catharine to marry Henry, Prince of Wales, the foremost article

set forth in words, that such a dispensation from his Holiness was necessary to a true and lawful marriage of the Spanish Princess and the English Prince:

1. Because the said Princess Catharine had formerly contracted marriage with Arthur, elder brother of the present Prince of Wales.

2. Because by such contract of marriage, she had become related to Henry, Prince of Wales, in the first degree.

3. Because her marriage with Prince Arthur had been duly solemnized, according to the rites prescribed by holy Church, and afterwards been consummated as the canon law required.

Warham insisted on this form, because he thought so plain a statement of this case must lead to its rejection by the court of Rome, even if it were not first rejected on account of certain other articles by the court of Spain. These other articles were framed in such a way as to provoke the jealousy of Isabel. They were all in favour of the English King. He was not asked to bind himself to carry out the treaty, even if the dispensation should be given. He was left at liberty to either ratify or reject the articles. The claim to restitution was abandoned. Catharine was to yield her previous settlement; and her succession to the crown of Spain was to be guaranteed. Until the dispensation had been got, and he had ratified the articles, nothing was expected from him. When that dispensation had been published, and

those articles had been ratified, he was to promise that his son should promise; but his son was under age, and could not give a binding pledge. In short, the articles were so arranged in form that he was practically free, while they contained in substance matters which his wisest councillors thought must lead to their rejection both in Spain and Rome.

Book the Tenth.

APPEAL TO ROME.

CHAPTER I.

SEGOVIA.

1503.

1. THOSE councillors who hoped the articles would be denounced by Spain were quickly undeceived. As soon as copies of the draft were made, a messenger set out for Spain. The King and Queen were living far apart, as usual in their later years; Fernando in Barcelona, busy with his ships and troops; Isabel in Segovia, busy with her doctors and inquisitors. Some days were needed for communication, even in the height of summer, and a joint assent could not be given for many weeks. But no one dreamt of a renunciation of the articles. Fernando grumbled at the terms. The English King, he said, had got the better of him; but he signed and swore the articles as they were drawn. 'You are to let the King, our brother, know,' he wrote, 'that we have

signed these articles out of the great love we bear him.' Isabel was quicker in assent and in assumption. 'God be thanked, the marriage is concluded,' she exclaimed; 'this news has filled us with the greatest joy.' Estrada was in favour at Segovia. 'You have done this business well; the terms are hard; the King, our brother, might have been more liberal; but your reasons for assenting to his terms were sound ones. Tell the King with what a hearty will we send him back the draft.' She added: 'Get the King to ratify the draft, and send a copy, signed with his name, and sealed with his seal; send it at once, and tell us all that you have done.'

2. But if the Queen were warmer in her words, the King, her husband, had been quicker in his acts. Fernando had not waited till the articles were approved. He had not paused until his consort had perused the draft. A month before he signed the articles he had sent a long and pressing note to Rome, requiring his ambassador at the Vatican to wait upon the Pope without delay. This envoy at the Roman court was Francisco de Rojas, Count de Salinas, and a Captain-General of his kingdom. Rojas was the man to carry such a suit. He was the father of Maria, Catharine's favourite maid of honour, whom the Princess was engaged in trying to unite in marriage to a wealthy English peer. This envoy was to seek an audience of the Pope, and under cover of Gonsalvo's recent victories, to ask

him for a bull permitting Catharine to espouse the Prince of Wales.

3. Isabel felt so happy that she could be liberal in reward. 'You are to let the King of England see how much we love him,' she ran on in rapture to Estrada, 'and the English citizens find how much we think of them, by handing in the document here annexed.' This document was, in truth, a precious gift, and Isabel meant it as a clinching bribe. In eighteen years of peace, the English trade with Spain had much increased. Not long ago, the intercourse of London with Vigo, Cadiz, and Valencia, had depended on the coming in, and going out, of the Venetian fleets, which made the voyage from Lido to Sandwich in about seven months, calling at the greater Spanish ports, and carrying, on account of Spanish merchants, cargoes of leather, raisins, oil, and wine, which they could readily exchange in Sandwich and Southampton for their worth in woollen, brass, and tin. These fleets came once a-year, and made a sort of annual fair. But time was changing the conditions of this trade. By granting licenses to bring in wine and take out wool, the King, according to his lights, was fostering intercourse with foreign ports. A merchant rarely came to him in vain. One day he gave a license to Francisco de Lerma, of the Burgos guild of traders, to export English wool for a period of five years. Another day, he heard that Juan Martin, a Spanish skipper, who had been delayed in his voyage, dared

not load his ship with English cloths, because the other captains had the start, and would exhaust the market. 'Let him freight his vessel free of dues,' said Henry, 'but for this time only.' Isabel's gift to England was a general license. English subjects were allowed to trade with Spain; to enter any port; to buy and sell in open market. They were put on level ground with Spanish traders, and were subject to no rules and rates, excepting such as were applied to every one in Spain. 'You are to speak to Henry,' she concluded, 'in the words best suited to impress his mind, and bring him over to our side. Do anything you can to make him love and help us. You must understand that your first duty is to get the King to side with us against the King of France.'

4. A second letter to Estrada, dated from her palace of Segovia, written on the self-same day, but sent by later messengers, and carried in a different ship, unveiled her motive for this haste. She wanted help. In Lower Italy, indeed, Gonsalvo held his own; but from the Garigliano to the Alps the French were still entrenched. A powerful army lay near Rome. A powerful fleet was lying off the mole at Gaeta. The Pope was aiding France. An accomplished soldier, Mantua, was in chief command. Even while Gonsalvo held his own, he found the strain on his resources very great. Spain was still no match for France. But, not content with pouring troops across the Alps, Louis was gathering forces in the plains of Gascoigne and of Languedoc. Louis

seemed bent on opening two safe passages through the Pyrenees; one passage by the gorge of Irun, and a second through the town of Perpignan. Alain d'Albret was to lead one corps across the Bidassoa, and surprise the rock of Fontarabia. Maréchal de Rieux was to advance from Languedoc, and after taking Salsas to ascend the Catalan heights. Already Salsas had been summoned to surrender. Salsas had a feeble garrison, and having passed so many times from Spain to France, from France again to Spain, was hardly to be trusted for heroic efforts of defence. Some succours had been sent across the mountains, but the roads were bad, the distances were great. Before her troops could cross the Pyrenees, the troops of Louis might have entered Spain.

5. 'You are to let the King of England know our strait,' she wrote. 'The King is bound to aid us; but we do not wish to force him now. The French have come into our states; they are encamped in front of Salsas; and we wish the King to hear what they have done. You are to let him see our need, and, if you find him well disposed, to beg that he will help us with his utmost power. Our want is fighting men. Get the best men, the best officers, the best guns. Two thousand men should be despatched to Fontarabia. Make haste; to be of use they must be quickly here. Two thousand; not one trooper less; and see that they embark at once.'

6. She wrote in natural dread of Alain d'Albret. Should he capture Fontarabia, he could throw his armies freely into Spain. Navarre, of which his son was king, might be induced to join in his attack. But how was she to pay these English fighting men? Aware that Henry would not send a man to Fontarabia till his pay was sure, she told Estrada to inform the King that he had every penny of their wages in his hands. But Isabel was not sure that Henry could be fooled by such a trick. He might require to see the money; and her envoy's credit with the bankers was not good enough for him to borrow such a sum. She thought of Catharine's plate. Her needs were pressing, and the means of raising money were in sight. Without considering how so bad a business would re-act on Catharine, she required the Duke, in case he had to show the money, to request her daughter, the Princess of Wales, to pawn as many of her cups and jewels as would cover the amount. This business would require much tact. Those cups and jewels were not Catharine's. They were portions of her dowry, left with her for household use, but not for either sale or pledge. The King was to be cheated, and the Princess made an instrument in the cheat. Would Catharine lend herself to such a scheme? Strong pressure was, if necessary, to be put on her. 'Tell her,' said Isabel, 'it is of moment; of the highest moment; both to us and her. It is the greatest thing we ever had to do, or ever dreamt that we

could have to do. It touches us; it touches her; it touches the succession to our crown.' A line was added for the Duke himself. 'Haste, haste! Write, write! Send off the troops, and let us hear by several messengers and different routes what you have done.'

CHAPTER II.

BORGIA.

1503.

1. THE Pope whom Rojas was to see and ask to judge the English Case of Conscience, was that Rodrigo Lentzuoli, who had dropped his father's name for that of Borja, which, in the Italian form of Borgia, he and his satanic offspring were to render infamous throughout all coming time. Valentian born, Rodrigo was a subject of the King of Aragon. Crafty, eloquent, unscrupulous, he had fought his way to wealth, and having filled his chests, had made his wealth a stepping-stone to rank and power. Borgia had bought the Papal chair, which he ascended in the name of Alexander the Sixth. When he had bought the Vatican, he had put up every spiritual gift and office in his hands and under his control for sale. On any other Pope his treatment of the Orsini family would have left a lasting brand. He broke and plundered these Orsinis for the benefit of his children by Signora Vanozia, a married woman, whom he kept as mistress; but with Borgia these offences were concealed beneath an Alp of greater crimes. A natural foe of learning

and of learned men, he put the printing-presses under censure, and burnt the great Dominican preacher, Fra Girolamo Savonarola. He enlisted poisoners and swordsmen in his service, and he filled his galleries at the Vatican with harlots, sorcerers, and bravos, who were ready to inflame his passions and obey his will. To rob the rich, and trample on the poor, afforded him an almost equal joy. To live a life of open shame, to bring discredit on the name of Pope, to make a mockery of holy things, and rouse the better feelings of mankind against the Church, so that the Papacy might perish when he died, amidst the rage and scorn of an indignant world, would seem to have been the course laid down by this satanic priest.

2. Borgia had raised his sons, whom he had not the decency to call his nephews, to the highest rank. One boy he had made a cardinal, another he had caused to be made a duke. These boys were worthy of their sire. Except the Pope himself, Cesare Borgia had committed more and darker crimes than any other man alive. The Pontiff's daughter matched his son. The deeds alleged against Lucrezia Borgia —murder, incest, fratricide—have placed her on the loftiest eminence of crime. Yet this satanic race had prospered in the world. All Central Italy was at their feet; her princes slain, her towns surprised, her shrines polluted, and her charters rent. What cared these strangers in the country that the French were rioting in the north, the Spaniards in the south?

No love of Italy warmed their hearts. They turned from Spain to France, from France to Spain, as victory flew from flag to flag. One son had married a connexion of the family of Aragon, the other a connexion of the family of France. They were prepared to win with either side; but they were bent on having Central Italy for the Borgias. They had gained the Roman States, Pesaro, Rimini, Faenzi, and Urbino. They had forced Bologna into truce, and threatened Florence with assault. From every side the Pope was scraping money; gathering it by fines, by tithes, by confiscations, and by open robberies of the Church. One source of income was the sale of scraps of paper, giving those who purchased them a license to indulge in sin. If Borgia had not been the first to grant these licenses, he was the first to stamp them, as it were, with an official die, and offer them for sale in open market-place and country fair. The money raked by fine and tithe, by sale and confiscation, was to be employed by him in setting up a temporal king and kingdom on the ruins of his church.

3. By birth and feeling Borgia was inclined to serve the King and Queen of Spain. Fernando knew the scandals of his life, and though he was himself no saint, he watched with some uneasiness the conduct of his liegeman in the papal chair. But their relations had been very close. Borgia had been implicated in the forged decree on which Isabel's marriage in Valladolid took place. Borgia was then a cardinal, a bishop, a vice-chancellor of the Roman

court. His cunning brain and ready tongue had cleared the obstacles from Fernando's path, and after his success, Fernando had been grateful to a priest on whose venality he could count for services to come. He made the Pontiff's eldest son, Giovanni, a duke and grandee of the first class in Aragon, and gave the youth in marriage to a natural daughter of his nephew, Alfonzo, King of Naples. But he had made the Pontiff pay as priest for everything that he had done as prince. The King and Queen had wrested from the Pope a portion of his Spanish tithe; had forced him to appoint no less than eighteen Spanish cardinals; had told him to be silent while they ravaged Naples; and had coaxed him to confer on them two seas and continents. In order to prepare the world for universal empire, they had asked from him the style of Catholic King and Catholic Queen. They knew the Pontiff and his aims, and while Gonsalvo was victorious in the field, they were secure of Rojas being heard in Rome.

4. The Tudor prince had no such grounds for confidence in the Pontiff. Borgia and Henry were not friends as priest and penitent should be friends. Although devoted to his church, and ready to obey her pastor, Henry could not close his eyes and stop his ears. The secrets of the Vatican were kept by trusty chamberlains, yet the abominations of that house of sin were such as papal chamberlains could not hide. When Giovanni, murdered in the street, was flung into the Tiber, every man in Rome became

a witness of the crime and a suspector of the criminal. When Cesare plunged his knife into Perotot's heart, and splashed his blood into the Pontiff's face, a hundred cardinals, priests, and servants, were acquainted with his deed. Nor were the cardinals all silenced. Giuliano della Rovere, a Roman of the antique mould, who had been driven from Rome by Borgia, was in Paris, calling on the French to cross the Alps, to save his country and depose the wicked Pope. This Cardinal had the means of learning and reporting the flagitious news from Rome. In the Republic of St. Mark, the papal family had also to encounter foes, who could be silent when they pleased, and noisy when they pleased. In every court, in almost every cloister of the empire, there were stories of the wicked Pope and his congenial son. And while the church was outraged, she was also robbed. Along with these reports of simony and bloodshed in the papal palace, came a loud and constant cry from Rome for money, mitres, priories, and stalls. A cardinal might fail, an embassy might come and go, but the demand for gold and benefices never ceased. A cardinal asked for bishoprics, not only for himself, but for his nephews and for his connexions in the tenth degree. Borgia had sent his agents into England with indulgences for sale, and orders to collect a fund for the expenses of a holy war. But Henry had been slow to back his suit, and Borgia's spoil had not been reaped on English ground.

5. With clearer mind than either Louis or Fer-

nando, Henry had held aloof from Borgia and his race. Fernando had given his son, Giovanni, the Valentian dukedom of Gandia, and had married him to his nephew's natural daughter. Louis had given his son, Cesare, the Gascon dukedom of Valentinois, and had married him to a sister of Jean d'Albret, King-consort of Navarre. Henry had bestowed no title, benefice, or money, on this papal house. On the other side, he had interfered, and made his Chancellor interfere, to stay the sale of their indulgences. On finding that the money taken from his people went to lacqueys, harlots, and assassins, he had set his face against collecting money for a holy war. The waste and wickedness in Rome had made the King impatient with the guilty priest; thrice guilty in his eyes, as being a man who wore a pious mask, who gathered money on a false pretence, who spent on earthly lusts the shekel given to God.

6. Yet being bound to lay a Case before the papal court, he authorised his councillors to write a formal letter, setting forth the facts, according to the English view, and asking for a statement of the law. He used no pressure, and employed no agencies. The case was simply so and so; and in the face of such a statement, could the Pontiff exercise a full dispensing power?

CHAPTER III.

CARDINALS AND POPES.

1503.

1. A BOX of comfits eaten by an old man in a garden, answered this Appeal to Rome, and changed the aspects and conditions of his suit. Almost as soon as Rojas had begun to urge his case, the wicked Pope was dead.

2. That Adriano de Castello who had been in England more than once was known to be a wealthy cardinal, with stalls and offices in many countries, every one of which brought money to his chests. Among the many posts which he enjoyed were those of Bishop of Hereford in England, and Director of the Treasury in Rome. A friend of Borgia, he had served the Pontiff well; but he was rich in money and reversions; and the papal family resolved that he must die. Three cardinals—those of Modena, St. Angelo, and Capua—had recently been murdered for their money, and the aged Pope was eager to despoil a fourth. Cesare was at hand to take advantage of the Cardinal's death. When they were ready for the deed, the Pope proposed to Cardinal Adriano that they should sup together in the vineyard of the

Belvedere, behind the Vatican. A cardinal could not refuse a pope; but Adriano got some hint of what was coming, and he bribed a servant to exchange the poisoned meats. Some poisoned wine was also used, but Adriano lived and Alexander died.

3. All Rome was thrown into confusion by that summer evening's work. Cesare, seated at the table, had partaken of the wine, and though his vigorous system cast the poison out, he had to lie in bed for many a day. Long since, when counting on the Pope's decease, Cesare had taken measures to secure the Vatican, to crush his enemies in the city, and appoint a Pope who should be little more than his domestic priest. But everything depended on himself. No man was in his confidence, nor had he confidence in any other man. The French, whose duke he was, regarded him with fear and jealousy. The officers in his camp professed to serve him from no higher motive than the lust of place and pay. At any moment, they were ready to desert him; and at times, these men had left his standard on the chance of finding in a foreign camp a higher wage and richer spoil. If he were clad in mail, he might control these troops, who held the Vatican, the Castle of St. Angelo, and the gates of Rome; but he was sick in bed, disabled by a draft of wine intended for a rival priest. On every side his enemies were up in arms. Orsini and Colonna entered Rome. Savelli marched into his towns. Pesaro, Comerino, and Perugia welcomed back their ancient lords. Ve-

netian fleets and armies were in motion; capturing Faenza, occupying Rimini, and threatening Forli and Imola. A Venetian corps marched into Rome, in order to protect the Sacred College. Even when Cesare left his bed, he was uncertain how to act. The French were pouring into Italy, accompanied by two great cardinals—George d'Amboise, the crafty, secular, and pacific priest, and Giuliano della Rovere, the martial, frank, and Pagan prince. Amboise and Rovere were each expecting to be chosen Pope. Amboise was only half his friend, and Rovere was his mortal foe. Could he connect himself with Spain? Not yet. In spite of their disaster in the South, the French were masters of the country down to Gaëta. While Gonsalvo's army was obliged to stand on the defensive, Cesare dared not openly embrace the Spanish flag.

4. While he lay still, unnerved, the cardinals met, protected by the Lion of St. Mark, and raised a cry in favour of the Sacred College, as against the Pope. These cardinals were of opinion that a member of that College ought to have more pay, more privilege, more power, and that the future pope should be a servant of the College rather than their lord. Before they chose another pope, they laid down thirty-six conditions, for that pope to swear and keep. A final clause denied beforehand that the pope, whoever should be chosen from their body, had the right, in virtue of his apostolic rank, to vary the conditions he had sworn. It was declared

that he was not to vary them on pain of his being damned.

5. The new pope was to share with them the papal wealth, and more than share with them the papal power. No cardinal should be poor. Each member of the Sacred College, whose income from his cardinal's hat and pastoral staff was less than six thousand golden florins a-year, was to have two hundred florins paid to him from the papal treasury every month. Each cardinal was to retain his benefices of every sort, however many and however lawless they might be. No future pope should be able to touch the person or the property of a cardinal; nor make a change in any of his offices and receipts, unless with the consent of two-thirds of his colleagues. All voting must be taken by the ballot. No future pope should prosecute any cardinal, nor suffer any cardinal to be prosecuted, save on the advice of cardinals elected by each of the three orders. No tax of any kind should be laid on livings held by cardinals; no burden should be laid on any property owned by cardinals. No future pope should be allowed to take a present from a cardinal, not even though the cardinal should offer it of his own free will. A cardinal should have the right to either sell or give away all monasteries, priories, and other ecclesiastical houses depending on him. All former promises and titles granted by the Holy See, so far as these restrained the liberty of cardinals, were to be null and void. If any living held by an officer

of the papal court were to become vacant, the pope should not appoint a successor, except with the consent of the cardinal to whose department it belonged. The new pope should confirm every privilege and prerogative which had ever been granted to cardinals by the Holy See.

6. To guarantee these rights and powers, the Sacred College stipulated that each cardinal was to have a fortified place in the neighbourhood of Rome for his security; that no cardinal should in future be sent from Rome on legantine or other business, save with his entire consent; that no soldiers should stand or walk between the pope and the cardinals; that the governors of the seven Legations should be cardinals; that no privilege conceded to a cardinal should ever be revoked; that all fees paid to the Consistorial Courts should go to the cardinals; that the new pope should pay two hundred gold florins a-month to every cardinal whose revenues should be seized in consequence of the next election by his secular prince; that on the death of each of the next six cardinals, the oldest cardinals should be at liberty to take his bishoprics, his castles, livings, houses, and other properties; and that all the livings in the gift of cardinals which Alexander the Sixth had sold, should be restored to them. Then came some special articles. All church preferments and ecclesiastical offices in Rome were to be held exclusively by citizens of Rome. All cardinals who had been wronged by Borgia were to have their

losses made good. All members of the families of Colonna, Orsini, and Savelli, were to be restored to their dignities and possessions. Finally, it was agreed that the new pope should incur the punishment of eternal malediction and damnation if he broke any of these terms. He should not be allowed to absolve himself, nor should any other person be allowed to absolve him, from the penalties incurred by such a crime.

7. On these conditions Francisco Piccolomini, Archbishop of Siena, was elected pope. Amboise and Rovere had not been able to agree, and Piccolomini, a cardinal of enormous riches, bought the neutral votes, and took his seat as Pius the Third. Rojas called on him, and asked him for a papal bull. But Pius had no time to judge the English Case. Three weeks after he was crowned he died; men said, of poison; and the Vatican being void again, the Sacred College had to choose another pope.

CHAPTER IV.

JULIUS THE SECOND.

1503.

1. THE two great cardinals came to terms. Amboise, a younger man by nineteen years than Rovere, agreed to wait. He was but forty-three years old, and popes were seldom chosen at the age of forty-three. His time would come again. Rovere was to be elected Pope, and Amboise was to rule the Vatican. To make the choice more absolute, a reconciliation was effected with the friends of Borgia. Rovere was to be elected Pope, and Cesare Borgia was to be appointed Gonfalonier of the Church. One other party, that of Spain, was still outside. This party had a great command of votes, and Cardinal Carvajal, their leader, was a subtle and unscrupulous priest. While the affair was pending, Rojas went to Rovere, and, after telling him about the Spanish project, and explaining how the Catholic King and Queen desired to have it carried, offered him support in his election, on a pledge that he would grant the papal bull. Rovere, anxious to conciliate the Spaniards, promised him; and with the help of Am-

boise, Carvajal, and Borgia, Giuliano della Rovere, the antique Roman patriot, was elected Pope.

2. Next day, when Rojas, calling at the Vatican, inquired about the grant, Rovere told him he should keep his pledge. Rovere had assumed the name of Julius the Second, not from love of Julius the First, pontiff and saint, but that of Julius the First, emperor and sinner. Not being a theologian, hardly, in truth, a Christian, he was not embarrassed in his dealing with this project by considerations for the written law. To him the Case was a political document only. Rojas had been instructed by his master to assure the Pope that two great Kings, his children in the Cross, were parties to a suit before his court, and two great kingdoms waited for his answer with a passionate desire. When he had seen the Pope, he had been told to seek the cardinals, one by one, and press them with the argument that Rome had much to gain by giving him a speedy hearing, and more to lose by causing him delay. He held a power to enter into separate treaties with cardinals, dukes, marquises, and other persons in the Roman States for their support. The ground assumed was purely secular. By way of general argument he had been told to say, 'The cause of God and of the Church could only prosper when the hearts of Christian kings were turned to love and peace; yet many Christian princes were at discord with each other. To remedy in some degree this evil Spain and England had

agreed to form a league which was to last, not only through their time, but through their children's time. The foremost object of this league was to defend the Holy See against her enemies of every kind.' The pleas in favour of the grant were therefore laid on temporal, not on spiritual grounds.

3. Julius was a man to feel the force of such an argument. He nursed no thought of either personal or family fortunes to be wrung by violence from the Church. He had no bastards to enrich. If he was martial and ambitious, he was martial and ambitious for his country rather than himself. He thought of Rome. On every side he saw to what a depth of infamy the city of his heart had sunk. To raise her up, and clothe her with the dignity befitting her renown, became the passion of his life. For years he had been exiled from his native land. That period had been chiefly spent in France, where he had seen and heard too much about the reigning Pope. No part of that vast weight of shame had fallen on him. In truth, his exile had been understood as an appeal from drunken Rome to sober Rome. To end that reign of vice and crime, he would have called down fire from heaven; but seeing that the days of miracles were past, had been content to call in troops from France. These troops had helped to make him Pope, and he was bound to them by many ties; but he was first of all a Roman prince, with duties towards the capital of all Christian men. No sooner was he seated in the

papal chair, than he began to work for the recovery of what the recent Pope had stolen from his Church. Although compelled to temporise with Cesare Borgia, who was master of St. Angelo, and of a hundred strongholds in the Papal States, he watched that plotter as a second Satan, whom the wit of man was called upon to baffle and subdue. To Julius, every one who offered to support the Roman See was welcome, and the prospect of a league of two great kings, renowned for riches, wisdom, and success, was something for a martial Pope to hail with joy.

4. Yet, looking at the question as a Pagan senator would have looked, the thing required some time. The cardinals must be consulted, and the English envoys must be heard. Even as the Spaniard put his case, the pleas and arguments were strange. A league in favour of the Vatican, said Rojas, had been planned. This league was to be founded on a royal match. This match required the Pope's dispensing power. But Julius was informed that he was asked to use it merely as an act of grace. The English had inserted in the case a statement that Arthur and Catharine had been man and wife; but Rojas told him, privately, that such was not the truth. There was a contract, nothing more. The draft was wrong. The court, he urged, was free; and Julius might decide the case. Foreseeing that this line of argument might lay his envoy open to the answer, 'Let the articles be amended, let the truth be stated, let the court be well informed,'

Fernando had instructed Rojas to present the Case of Conscience as a piece of comedy. 'These English are a curious folk,' he was to hint; 'they cavil over words, they wrangle over points of law, they fight about the shadow of a shade.' Long wars had made them jealous of their royal blood, afraid of future contests for the crown. A papal verdict would relieve their fears; but they would only take that verdict in the form set down. No other phrases than their own would serve, and so the papal bull must say that Catharine was at liberty to wed the brother of her recent lord.

5. Rojas had been told to seek the English envoy at the papal court, and get him, if he could, to join in his request, and even go with him to see the Pope. This English envoy, Robert Sherborne, Dean of St. Paul's, was an acute and able priest, whom Henry had employed in many offices of trust. A private secretary and a privy councillor, he had managed the negotiations for the Holy League, and gathered in the fines and mulcts inflicted on the partisans of York. The King had taken care of him; and he had held successively the rich archdeaconries of Taunton, Huntingdon, and Bucks; and in addition to his deanery had several prebendary stalls. No man knew better what the King desired. Sherborne had lived among the cardinals and priests; he was himself a priest, who some day might be cardinal; and few men knew so well what might be done in Rome.

6. Sherborne had received no orders from his master to address the Pontiff, either jointly or alone. The King had sent a formal notice of the suit to Rome, but otherwise he showed no sign of wishing to proceed. Estrada had not yet been able to procure from him a copy of the articles, duly ratified. Estrada was to keep the Spanish copies till they were exchanged for English copies; and as Henry had not signed them, nothing of importance had been done. There was a sheet of paper, covered with a form of words, and that was all. The King had not adopted them, nor could he be persuaded to exchange the copies sent to him from Spain. Estrada pressed him. Isabel had certified the articles without delay; yet months were passing by, and Henry would not sign. According to Estrada, his refusal was a trial and an insult to the Spanish King and Queen; yet Henry put him off from week to week; for while he held his hand in London, nothing to the purpose could be done in Rome.

7. One step, however, had been gained. The Case of Conscience had been opened and referred. Apart from any pledge that had been given to Rojas, Julius, as a man of policy, could not well deny the kings a hearing. To refuse a hearing was to stop the Case before it had been heard. According to the recent compact in the Sacred College, consistorial causes were to be considered by the cardinals, who were entitled to receive the fees. In such a cause the fees were certain to be large.

The question, too, was covered and concealed. Rojas said one thing, while the articles said another thing. Experienced men would have to ascertain the truth. Ambassadors would need to certify the facts, and canonists to answer for the guiding rules. In short the matter must be heard. A step was won; the Case was opened; and a victory was scored for Spain.

CHAPTER V.

LONDON AND ROME.

1503.

1. DRAWN onward step by step, along a road he had no set wish to go, the King was prudent in his words, and only let his mind be seen when he was forced to act. His acts, indeed, were plain. Six months had passed since Warham and Estrada wrote the articles at Richmond; four months since Fernando sent them out to Rome; and three months since Isabel ratified them in Segovia; yet the Tudor King had neither signed nor sworn them. What was done by him in Rome was merely specious; meant to cause delay and mystify the Spanish envoy. Notice had been sent, in ordinary form, to Alexander and to Julius, that articles had been framed and would be duly laid before the Pontiff. Adriano had been told, when he should have to see the Pope on other business, to acquaint him with the suit, to ask him for a gracious hearing, and to manage so that Rojas might believe him eager and sincere. The shrewd Italian caught the royal hint. To serve so good a prince was well, for Henry could promote him in the English Church, and Adriano

was so rich that he was hungering for promotion in that happy English Church.

2. At home, the King allowed his purpose to escape in acts. For many years his leading minister had been Richard Fox. Fox had been with him in his early days, a friend before he was a servant, and the ablest man who helped him to a crown. All sorts of gifts had fallen on the man whom Henry loved. He held three prebendary stalls. In turn, he had been Bishop of Exeter, Bishop of Bath and Wells, Bishop of Durham, Bishop of Winchester. He was governor of Norham Castle, privy councillor, ambassador, royal commissioner, Chancellor of Cambridge, Keeper of the Privy Seal. On Morton's death, it was supposed that Fox would go to Lambeth; and he might have done so, but for Henry's admiration of the talent for affairs displayed by Deane. The great success of Deane in dealing with the Irish question had disposed the King to try him in the marble chair, and as the chancery and primacy had been lately joined, he let them stand together in the case of Deane. Fox seemed secure of the reversion of these great estates; but now a question had arisen in face of which all services and likings of the past would count for nothing. Fox was committed to the match, and with that match would have to stand or fall. In Rome, in Spain, in France, the match was understood to be his work, and if it were to prosper, he would need to occupy the foremost place.

But Henry had begun to turn from this great champion of the Spanish cause. When Deane fell sick from over-toil, Warham was named to help him on the Bench. When Deane fell dead in harness, Warham was appointed to succeed him both in Lambeth Palace and in Westminster Hall.

3. The plot was growing serious. Though the King had neither signed the draft nor asked the Pope to read it, Rojas was proceeding with his utmost speed. He held the Pontiff to his pledge, and urged him by his interest in the future, even more than by his promise in the past, to grant the papal bull. The English and the Spaniards were, he said, the Pontiff's friends; a league of peace between them was a natural bulwark of the Roman See. Who else could put a bridle on Cesare Borgia? By the articles of peace, Rovere's nephew, Francesco, Duke of Urbino, was to have married Cesare's daughter. Cesare was to have been appointed Gonfalonier of the Church, and suffered to retain his towns and castles in the Roman States. Not one of these conditions had been kept; and Cesare, who had never trusted man before, had been embraced, deceived, and plundered by a simple priest. Yet this unscrupulous prince, though hustled out of his commands in Rome, was master of the principal towns, and was supported secretly by Amboise as a useful ally of the French. In fighting him the Pope had need of every ally he could find; and Rojas offered him the best support of Spain.

A match of Catharine and the Prince of Wales was represented to him as the only means of joining two great kingdoms in a league for the defence of Holy Church. Why should the Pontiff pause so long?

4. Cesare Borgia, though the first, was not the only enemy the Pontiff had to dread. Venetian captains, under cover of defending him, were occupying various cities in his States. They had already seized Faenza, occupied Rimini, and raised the Lion of St. Mark at Monte Fiore, Sant Arcangelo, Cesenatico, and other strongholds in the Roman States. They were at war, they said, with Cesare Borgia, who had plundered some of their dependent towns. These friends were worse than open foes. Though summoned to retire, they would not; nay, they threatened to advance on Forli and Imola. Spiritual rights and even secular titles they were ready to admit in Julius; but the right to garrison and govern these dependencies of Rome they would not yield. Who could compel these captains to retire? The Signory might listen to an English prince. The trade with Venice was of value to the workmen of Murano and the traders on the Grand Canal. If Henry could be got to plead in Venice for the Pope, no man could do the Pontiff greater service with the Doge. Assuming that the envoy told the truth, and that the King of England was as eager for this marriage as the King and Queen of Spain, the Pope had promised that the point submitted to his judgment should be heard.

5. The Case of Conscience was referred to two experienced Cardinals of Portugal and Naples, who were slowly hearing it in secret, when the Cardinal of Rouen interposed his word. Amboise was of opinion that the matter should be dropped. It was, he said, a scandal to the Church. No doubt the Cardinal's motives were political. Aware of all that had been done towards mating Henry, Prince of Wales, with Marguerite of Angoulême, and feeling that an English marriage was the best for France, he heard with jealousy of this Appeal to Rome. He may have known what Warham said and Henry felt. In any case, it was his duty, as a Frenchman, to induce his colleagues to reject the suit. A hint sufficed. His word was law; for Amboise had an army at his back. Yet he was careful not to give offence. Ere long, he might require the Spanish vote. Aware of what was going on, he sent a trusty servant to the Cardinals with a request that they would let the business drop. The Cardinal of Portugal was in feeble health, and feeble health was given as an excuse for putting off the cause.

6. Enraged at these delays in Rome, Fernando told Estrada he must urge the King to take his part in the affair. Henry was doing nothing at the Vatican, and while he held aloof the Pontiff could not be induced to act. To make a show of asking for a judgment, Henry gave an order to his two Italian agents, Adriano and Sylvestro, what to do. These shrewd Italians, having begged an audience of

the Pontiff, fixed a day when Rojas was confined by sickness to his house. They sent to ask that envoy's company at the Vatican. Rojas replied that he was ill, but begged the Cardinal and Bishop to engage his Holiness to hasten the affair. Then Adriano and Sylvestro waited on the Pope alone, and asked him whether, as became the common pastor of his flock, he could consent to gratify the Kings of Spain and England in this project of a marriage for the sake of peace and order in their kingdoms. Julius, in a spirit of benignity, assured them he had placed this grave and weighty business in the hands of two experienced Cardinals. At present, he could do no more. Until the Cardinals of Portugal and Naples had reported, nothing could be done. No warmth was shown by Adriano and Sylvestro, nor was reference made to Amboise either first or last. The Cardinal of Portugal, his Holiness continued, was unwell. His eyes were bad; but he was lodging in the Vatican; the Pope might see him soon, and have the benefit of his advice. When he was well enough the matter might go on.

7. On stepping from the Vatican, Adriano went alone to Rojas and reported his rebuff; reporting it according to his orders, so that Rojas might imagine he was full of zeal. Rojas, although in feeble health, was strong enough to pour into the Cardinal's ear the story of his effort and of his defeat. The Pope, he said, was utterly forsworn. Before the day of his election, he had promised, as the

price of Spanish votes, to grant a papal bull the instant he was chosen Pope. The next day after his election, Rojas had called to ask him for the bull, but he had put him off with words, admitting that a pledge had passed between them, but requiring time to draw the necessary form. From day to day his Holiness had put him off. At last the Pope had told him the affair was laid before the Cardinals of Portugal and Naples. He had been to see those Cardinals, and had begged them to despatch the matter. But another power had interfered. The French, who had a reason of their own for thwarting the arrangement, were opposing him. His eminence of Naples had informed him that although he was himself inclined to grant the suit, he had been requested by the Cardinal of Rouen to resist him, and to use his influence at the Vatican to induce the Pontiff to resist him. So, according to the sick ambassador, the matter stood, and nothing could be done in Rome.

CHAPTER VI.

ANOTHER DRAFT.

1503–4.

1. At the Castle on the Mount, where Isabel was lodging with her friars and inquisitors, the thing was treated as a matter happily closed. She wrote as though this reference to the Cardinals of Portugal and Naples were an idle form. The business was, in her opinion, finished when she signed the articles in Segovia. From that moment she considered Catharine as Prince Henry's bride. She gave her that old title of Princess of Wales which had been lately dropt, and wrote to the young prince as to her favourite son. This child, who traced his lineage, like herself, to Edward the Third, appeared to her a second Juan; and as Catharine's rights in the succession were reserved, she talked as though his sons might have to reign in Spain, in Naples, and the Indies; but in spite of her brave words, her mind was racked by many doubts and fears. Guerra had come from London, and begun to play his part. She could not read the man. Unlike the envoys commonly employed by Henry, Guerra wore a frivolous air, and kept a chattering tongue. The King of

England, he declared, was sending him on a mission into Portugal, connected with a certain business of the royal Nun. He had arrived from London; he was going on to Lisbon. In his pocket he had letters from the King of England to the King of Spain. He knew Estrada, and had brought from him a message for the Queen. This gossip from the arcades of Medina was reported at the Mount. What could he mean? Was Henry sending to the royal Nun? If so, for what?

2. Fernando, when he joined his wife at New-Year's tide, observed this stranger with a curious eye. Was Henry plotting with the Nun? If so, his envoy had been strangely chosen. It was hardly like him to intrust so nice a business to a chattering fool. Was Guerra an impostor? Under the arcades, he had been boasting that he bore a letter from the King of England; yet the man had neither been at court, nor sent that letter to the Queen. If he were Henry's envoy, why should he remain apart? At length he came to court, where he was noted with a curious eye. By handing in a letter from the English King, he proved that in his chatter he had told some portion of the truth. He said he was about to visit Lisbon, on affairs connected with the Señora Excellenta. Was this story also true? What could the King of England want at Santa Clara? Henry was a widower. Could he be sending into Portugal for a wife, and seeking her in the legitimate heiress of Castille? Guerra was loquacious

and confiding, yet Fernando could not make him out. He offered to return by way of Spain, and tell the King and Queen what he had learned and done! Was he a fool, or was he playing one? Had he an actual mission to the Nun? Was it a trick on Henry's part? Estrada was enjoined to search it out, but in a safe and covert way. Fernando had no wish to make the royal Nun a subject of negotiations with the English court. With Max he could not help himself. Max was the Excellenta's cousin, and the bluster of a cousin might be borne. But Henry had no further interest in the Nun than he, Fernando, had in Pole. That interest was political; and neither he nor Isabel could bear the thought of opening out new fields of enterprise for foreign princes round the royal Nun. Estrada, therefore, was to search in secret; not to make the matter an affair of business; but to find out all the truth, and send his news to Spain. Fernando felt that what was done in Santa Clara was of nearer interest for his crown than what was going on in Rome.

3. As nothing could be done in Rome with the original Case, a second statement of the Case was drawn, and this time in the customary form of papal bulls. This draft was far less clear in substance, far less cynical in expression, than the first instructions sent from Spain. Whatever Isabel might be, the King was far less arrogant than he had been in the first weeks after Cerignola. France was pressing

him at many points, and he was forced to stoop where he would otherwise have liked to strike. The draft was dated Rome, the twenty-sixth day of December, 1503; eight weeks only after Julius had been chosen Pope. Opening with a blessing from the servant of the servants of God to his beloved son Henry, born of his dearest son in Christ, Henry, the illustrious King of England, and to his beloved daughter Catharine, born of his dearest son in Christ, Fernando, and his dearest daughter in Christ, Isabel, King and Queen of Spain and Sicily, Catholics, this draft went on to say that one surpassing power of the Roman Pontiff, given to him from above, enabled him to act according to the times and seasons, and according to the persons who might be concerned, as he should judge expedient in the Lord. It then set forth that Julius was informed by a petition, that Catharine had been married by a form of words to Arthur; that her marriage had *perhaps* been consummated; that the Prince had left no issue; that another marriage was desired by all the parties; and that supplication had been made to him for his apostolic license. In the cause of peace, and at the earnest prayer of the petitioners, this draft went on to say, the Pontiff granted them his dispensation from the penalties of sin, declared their union lawful, and their offspring legitimate, all constitutions, laws, and ordinances, to the contrary being set aside.

4. Such, in substance, was the second document

laid before the Pope. As nearly all his jurists held that his dispensing power was absolute, he was at liberty to seal this draft. Let him be only satisfied that the bull was for the public good, that the request for it was urgent, and that every other method had been tried, and he was free, according to the canonists, to grant a bull. His predecessor, Alexander, as the Spaniards pointed out, had given a license for Maria, Catharine's elder sister, to espouse her dead sister's husband. The affinity was the same. But Julius was not easy in his mind. A precedent of Borgia was no precedent for him; nor was Maria's case the same as Catharine's case. He would not seal the draft. Some copies of this draft were sent to London, as the copies of an actual bull. But no one was deceived; the English priests and lawyers being as keen as any scribe and friar at the Castle of the Mount. A papal bull was never given by word of mouth, nor as a Pontiff's personal act. Strict rules of law and method were observed, not only in the writing and the sealing, but the publication, of a papal bull. The writing must be in a Gothic hand; the seal must be of lead and not of wax. Even when a bull was fairly copied out and sealed, it had no force till issued by the Church in open day. Nor was the draft, of which these copies had been sent, a statement of the English case. No 'perhaps' was written in the articles, and in the English view this change of word destroyed the legal virtue of the text. Whatever Rojas might have said in Rome,

the articles submitted as the English case were plain. They stated nothing but the truth, and they required a simple answer on the facts set forth. To Henry, this was all in all: the peace and welfare of his kingdom hanging on a true interpretation of the law. To Warham this was also all in all; his contest being from first to last that what was wrong in heaven was also wrong in Rome. A people suffering from the past and anxious for the future, were unwilling to receive a document in which they found a single flaw.

5. As yet no sound had come from Naples, like the thunder of Gonsalvo's guns at Cerignola, to dissolve the mists. All ears were straining towards the East for news. To gain some weeks, in which he might be free to take whatever course seemed open, Henry named a special embassy to the Holy See. Already he had several agents on the spot, connected with his country and his policy by various ties. Adriano di Castello and Sylvestro di Giglis were his bishops of Hereford and Worcester. Sherborne was his Dean of St. Paul's. Edward Scott, a gentleman of the Pope's bed-chamber, was his master of the great English hospital of San Tommaso. These could speak and act for him in case of need. But further time would be consumed in sending off a special mission, since the Pope, on hearing that ambassadors were on the way, could reasonably postpone his answer to the suit until they came.

6. Sir Gilbert Talbot, Knight of the Garter, was

selected as the lay chief of this embassy. Talbot was a soldier, and the deputy in Calais; yet he had an eye for business; and had sometimes been employed by Henry in such delicate things as levying fines and mulcts. With him were named the two Italian bishops, Richard Berry, abbot of Glastonbury, Dean Sherborne and Edward Scott. The object of their mission was to congratulate the Pope on his election, and to render homage in the name of Henry for his crown. They were to go before the Roman court, to prove the causes which prevented Henry from appearing in his proper person; beg the Pontiff to excuse his absence; and to do such acts of reverence and obedience to the Holy See as had been done from early times by English kings. When this great act of homage had been done, they were to settle any other business which the King might have in Rome. But not a word was said in their commission as to pressing on the suit. The suit was never named at all!

CHAPTER VII.

GONSALVO.

1504.

1. WHILE Gilbert was proceeding slowly on his way, the King took care to strengthen his supporters in the papal court. A richer bishopric than Hereford was dangled in the eyes of Adriano, and a Protectorate of England was suggested to Clemente della Rovere, a nephew of the Pope. Oliver, Bishop of Bath and Wells, had died six months ago, but Henry had reserved the mitre in his hands. If Adriano earned the royal favour he might chance to get the bishopric of Bath and Wells. A Protectorate of England was a more direct and weighty bribe. Clemente della Rovere had just been made a cardinal, with the title of the Pope's old parish of St. Peter in Chains. Louis had made him Bishop of Mende in the south of France; and Henry offered him the Protectorate of England, which Clemente della Rovere proudly undertook.

2. Having sent his embassy to Rome, done homage for his crown, and put his kingdom under Cardinal della Rovere's feet, the King had hope of further pause. He had not signed, and would not

sign, the articles. Eight months had passed since Warham and Estrada drew them up. The Queen of Spain had been insisting on the copies being exchanged. But Henry had not moved one step. So long as he held out, the Case was incomplete, the papers lay in his commissioners' hands, and nothing of a binding nature could be done in Rome. A Case to which the King refused his signature could hardly be considered as before the papal courts. If he could leave the suit alone, there was a chance of his escape. But while he dallied with the evil, he was rudely shaken from his dream by news from Italy. A battle had been fought and lost; a battle of the lurid rank and desolating fame of Crecy, Pavia, and Sedan.

3. A Pope having been chosen, Amboise had given the signal for his countrymen to march. In spite of heavy rains and broken roads, the French advanced into the south, recalling many of their columns to the camp, recovering the county of Fondi and the dukedom of Trajetto, and assembling all their forces on the river Garigliano, near the passage of the great highway from Rome to Naples. Mantua had his head-quarters near Ponte Corvo, while his great antagonist, Gonsalvo, lay at San Germano. Mantua meant to force the river, and advance towards Naples. He was rich in cavalry and guns. His foot were not so numerous as the Spanish foot; but in the general mass of fighting power he left Gonsalvo far behind. For more than

forty days and nights the Spanish troops had slept in bog and marsh, with poor supplies of food and drink. No stores could be received in camp, except by rugged tract and mountain pass. Yet these brave fellows lay in their morasses, stern and patient as the grave, until the French appeared in sight. The opposite bank stood out in bluffs, on which the French encamped. A bridge of boats being thrown across the stream, the French swarmed over, leaping on the southern bank, and forming rapidly into line. They pricked on eagerly to find their foes. A ditch arrested them; a deep ditch, brimmed with water; and beyond it, earthworks stretching far and wide, and held by men who answered blow by blow. The French dashed forward, failed, retired, and fled. Except a rear-guard, every company that had crossed the bridge of boats streamed back in broken ranks. Their army had been checked.

4. Then rose a state of things which is so often seen among the French when the first ardour of attack is damped by adverse fortune. They began to grumble and disperse. Their camp was dry, their fleet was near, their food was fairly good; on almost every point the Spaniards who were lying in the bogs and marshes might have envied them; yet when the rains came down, the horses sickened, and the wine ran short, whole companies murmured, mutinied, and ran away. They called their general an opprobrious name, and in a fit of anger he resigned the chief command. The soldiers said they had been

sold. The captains called their soldiers cowards. Every one yelled and swore that he had been betrayed. Nobody could command; nobody would obey. Then, like a flash, Gonsalvo broke upon them; crossed the river in their teeth; cut up their vanguard; rushed upon their camp; tore, scattered, and destroyed the main array; and drove the remnants into Gaeta, with the loss of nearly all their standards, horses, stores, and guns.

5. That night Gonsalvo lay at Mola, and the next day summoned Gaeta to surrender. Gaeta was strong enough to keep an enemy at bay for months. The French had every motive to resist their enemies so long as they could load and fire a gun. To give up Gaeta was to yield the south. It seemed as though they might have made a good defence. The garrison was strong; the port was open; and their fleet was mistress of the sea. But the defeated troops were reeling, stunned and senseless, from the blow. They parleyed; asked for terms; and finding that Gonsalvo would allow them to depart, they lowered their flag. Few scenes in story match the horrors undergone by these unhappy troops. They filed from Gaeta, indigent, unarmed, and at the mercy of all comers. Not a hand was raised to help them, not a voice was heard to cheer them. Cold, sick, hungry, ragged, they advanced in gangs through Central Italy towards the Alps. No one was bound to house and feed them. In the wintry frosts they had to eat their rations in the

open air, and make their beds beneath the forest trees. Day after day some fell, were left behind, and perished in the winter nights. A few arrived in France, but they were broken by disease, and scarcely any of them lived to bear the memory of their great defeat. Of all that mighty army which had crushed republics, set up popes, and threatened to subdue the world, Louis and Amboise could hardly find a man.

6. This battle of the Garigliano, and the peace which followed, gave Fernando a commanding voice in every city from the Straits of Messina to the passes of the Julian Alps. Fortune had smiled upon him nearer home. Albret had failed at Fontarabia; Rieux had failed at Salsas. Crossing the Pyrenees with forty thousand men, Fernando chased the scattered corps into the heart of Languedoc. All these disasters humbled Louis to the dust. He fell into a serious malady. Queen Anne, believing he was dying, fled away to Nantes, with Claude, the heiress of her duchy. Louis had to beg for peace on any terms his enemy might please. A truce was granted; and Fernando, armed with victory on every side, was now the foremost man on earth. Within a fortnight of the coming of this news from Italy, Henry was constrained to ratify and exchange the articles. A second step was won by Spain.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE VATICAN.

1504.

1. By ratifying and exchanging the agreement something was conceded to the Spanish court, but Henry was not bound to move another step until the dispensation had been given in Rome. He could afford to wait. The Prince was still a minor in his thirteenth year of age; incapable of taking on himself a binding vow. A promise, therefore, that his son should marry Catharine on the Pontiff giving him a dispensation, was a form of words, and nothing more. His trust was in the grace of his protector, Cardinal della Rovere, in the cunning of his various ministers, and in the final equity of Rome.

2. In playing with a gamester like Fernando, every chance was to be weighed. Now, in the copies of the bull sent over in advance, there seemed a loophole for escape. The Prince's age had been forgotten. Nothing was inserted in the articles about his being a minor, and the scribes who had prepared the draft in Rome were unaware that one of the two parties in the suit was under age. This flaw was fatal to the instrument. A child of thirteen—and the Prince

was under thirteen—could not make a binding promise. If Carvajal and Rojas—now as strong in Rome as Amboise had been in the spring—should force that copy on the Pontiff nothing would be gained by them. To make a promise binding they must have a second bull, removing the impediment of youth. In this belief, the King gave way so far to Isabel's importunities as to allow the comedy of a betrothal to be played at Salisbury Court. Edmond Audley, Bishop of Salisbury, played the leading part. The rite was hardly over ere Estrada asked the King to treat the Princess as a member of the reigning house, to give her publicly the title of Princess of Wales, and pay into his hands a sum of money to defray the large expenses of her suit.

3. The King had no objection to her title. He had always called her the Princess of Wales. His Case implied her right to bear that title; but he gave it her as Arthur's widow, not as Henry's bride. The money was a different thing, and he refused to put his coin into Estrada's hands. John Heron, keeper of his purse, was ordered to pay a hundred pounds a month to Hollybrand, for Catharine's use, and to account for every farthing of that money to the Princess and the King. If anything remained he was to hand it over to the Princess for her private use. Estrada thought his work accomplished. For thirty months he had been absent, and he wanted to go home; but when he hinted, that as everything was settled, he might take his leave, the King astonished

him by saying that nothing had as yet been done. Estrada was at fault. Were all these acts of ratification and betrothal nothing? Looking at the court, he saw that Catharine had been put by Henry on a footing with his daughter, Lady Mary, in the rank she held as widow of his eldest son. The Queen being dead, a true Princess of Wales stood higher than a younger daughter, as Estrada must have known. When he suggested that his work being ended he might take his leave, he was surprised to hear that nothing had been fixed, that everything depended on the Pope, and that his Holiness hung back. 'Remain,' said Henry, 'till the dispensation comes.' Estrada promised to remain in England till the end of August, 'If it fails to come by August we shall know the Pontiff will not grant the bull.'

4. Yet Henry had but too much reason to suspect the Pope might yield. If he, in London, felt the burthen of Gonsalvo's victories, how could Julius stand in Rome against the moral fervour and material impulse of events? The fight was on Italian soil; the rout was on Italian roads; the spectacle of ruined power was in Italian towns. Gonsalvo was as much the lord of Rome as though his bombardiers were in the Castle of St. Angelo. The two great factions, the Orsini and Colonna, were united in his camp. He had no need to move a man in order to distress the Pontiff. At a sign from him the streets would fill with tumult; every palace would become a fortress; every gateway would be seized;

and bands of partizans would begin to fight. Without Gonsalvo's favour Julius could not settle his accounts with Borgia, who would neither render nor defend his castles in the Roman States.

5. This man, whom Julius feared and hated with a bitterness beyond the passion shown by Henry towards his kinsman, Pole, was still in Rome. Lodged in the Vatican, surrounded by his staff, Cesare was in part a prisoner, and in part a despot. Having been persuaded to depart, he had prepared to enter on a new campaign. Recalled from Ostia, he had entered Rome with flying colours, and his men in such a state that Julius had found it prudent to conduct him to the Vatican. When Julius pressed him for the castles of Cesena, Forli, and Bertinovo, which he held within the Roman States, he wrote an order for his officers to yield them to the papal troops. Oviedo, an Asturian, rode with these instructions to Cesena, where Diego Chignone held the chief command. Borgia sent a secret order to Chignone, to arrest the messenger, cover him with chains, and pitch him from the wall. Chignone followed his instructions, and the papal officer was put to death; Chignone adding, as he hurled him from the rampart, that he would serve all traitors in like manner who should bring him orders to surrender while his master was not free.

6. A Spanish cardinal suggested to the Pope a way of dealing with this wicked Prince. This cardinal, Carvajal, proposed to take upon himself the

task of making Borgia yield his castles. Julius took the Spaniard at his word, and Carvajal opened his negotiation in the citadel of Ostia, where Cesare had been lodged for safety. Carvajal showed his captive that the walls were high, the gates secure, the soldiers staunch. Cesare saw and understood. Then Carvajal offered him a choice. If he consented to restore the Pontiff's castles he was free to go. If not, that citadel would be his grave. Cesare's courage fell. What guarantee, he asked, could Carvajal give him that on yielding up his cities he would find himself at liberty? 'My own,' said Carvajal: who entered into bonds to pay Cesare fifteen thousand ducats, if he failed in carrying out the terms proposed. Cesare took his bond, gave orders to his captains, and in due time heard that he had been obeyed. Then Carvajal told him he was free to go. Some hints were dropt that he would find a soldier's welcome if he went to Naples. A felucco was in waiting for him at Nettuno, whence he sailed to Mondragone in the Bay of Gaeta. After sending to Gonsalvo for a pass, he rode to Naples, where the Spaniard welcomed him with open arms, and watched him with unsleeping eyes. Gonsalvo was Fernando's officer; Fernando would but need to make a signal; and the prince whom Julius feared beyond all living men might be a prisoner in a Spanish ship.

CHAPTER IX.

MEDINA DEL CAMPO.

1504.

1. At their Castle on the Mount, the King and Queen received intelligence from Naples that Cesare Borgia had begged asylum in their states. Swift councils led them into swift resolves. Cesare was no longer counted either as a friend or foe of Spain. He was a dupe and might be made a tool. Six months ago they had been ready to assist him to a crown; but Heaven had now deserted him, and they could only bow to a decree of Heaven. But though they could not help him, he might still help them. A duke in France, a brother-in-law of Jean, king-consort in Navarre, and a pretender in the Roman States, with wit and energy beyond the run of ordinary men, with partisans in every province, and with piles of gold laid up in foreign banks, Cesare Borgia was a living terror to the Pope. If he were safe in Spain, he might be turned to good account. A man so rich and reckless would be hard to catch, and harder still to hold when he was caught. But Isabel's Castle on the Mount was strong. The walls were high, the gates were narrow, and the ditch was wide.

One pathway only crossed the ditch; one entrance only pierced the wall. One outer window only broke the lofty tower. From such a cage, escape, unless by wings, could hardly be achieved. This Castle on the Mount would suit Cesare well. If he were lodged in Isabel's tower, the Pope would be constrained by fear to grant them anything they had a mind to ask.

2. Their trouble with the Nun had taught them how to use a hostage. They had turned Abd-allah's capture to the best account. In dealing with the English court, they had endeavoured to get possession of a rival to the throne. They had intrigued for years to get the custody of Edmond de la Pole. Cesare, they resolved, should be secured. As fast as messengers could ride and sail, they sped to Naples with an order for Gonsalvo to arrest the fugitive and send him instantly to Spain. Cesare was preparing to depart. In secret understanding with Gonsalvo, he was going to Pisa, whence he meant to pass, by way of Lucca, through the Appennines into Modena, from which he fancied he could reach the Roman States. At Forli and Cesena he expected to regain his castles and revive his cause. His health was now restored. His money was secure. A feeling had begun to spread through the legations that no other man could keep the Doge in check. Should he retrieve his fortunes in a fight with the Venetians, he might soon be in sufficient strength to march on Rome. Gonsalvo, conscious of his talents, thought

he might succeed, and being a native prince was likely to oppose a new invasion by the French. So, far from putting obstacles in his way, Gonsalvo had been offering him a galley for the voyage, and giving him leave to raise a troop of horse and foot in Naples. When the messengers from Spain arrived, his ship was lying at the mole, preparing to depart, and he was with Gonsalvo taking leave. A word sufficed to change the scene; a word conveyed in secret to Jacopo Piccinino, captain of the guard. On sallying from the hall, Cesare was arrested by the guards, and carried to a ship. That ship threw out her sails and put to sea, attended by a fleet, and in a month Cesare Borgia was a prisoner in the Castle on the Mount.

3. The Pope was saved; but those who had arrested Borgia could at any time restore him to his plots. At Rome the situation was extremely clear. Cesare was a prisoner to the King and Queen of Spain; a prisoner in the Castle on the Mount; where he amused himself by flying falcons from his balcony across the dreary steppe. His jailers must be humoured, and the Pontiff had the means of making them his friends. Let him announce the bull and Borgia would not quit their Castle on the Mount alive. Yet Julius, though he saw the situation plainly, could not readily make up his mind to grant the bull. The promise he had given distressed him. Even in its altered form, the Case required him to conceal a lie. For what? Ac-

cording to the hints thrown out, he was to humour and deceive his English children, and the children of those children yet unborn, to benefit the present princes and himself. A pastor does not like to humour and deceive his flock. What evils might not flow from such a source? Disputed rights of birth, contending factions, and the rage of civil war. In the amended Case,—a Case which Henry had not signed—the primary facts were covered and concealed; yet no arrangement of the terms could hide from Julius and the Cardinals of Portugal and Naples the unlawful nature of the bull they were required to grant.

4. If Catharine was the widow of a former Prince of Wales, the papal power to grant a dispensation was denied; denied in London, where the dispensation was to have effect. A Roman canonist might say the privilege was absolute; but England was a country ruled by secular laws; and neither popes nor princes could prevent the men of York and Lancaster from fighting for their own construction of those secular laws. Their Case declared that Catharine was Prince Arthur's widow, and they asked him to insert that declaration in his bull. Fernando also held him to this point. 'The dispensation,' said his Highness, 'must be given in perfect keeping with the clause.' How could a pontiff seal that lie? Again he paused; as though by putting off the day, he could escape the deed. In answer to the King, who was obliged to feign a little haste—the question

having been before him for a year—the Pontiff said he must have time. It was not true, as some alleged, that he had threatened to refuse the bull; but the impediments were great, and he was bound to weigh them well. The paper, he suggested, might be given in secret. Sherborne was a faithful priest whom he could trust to carry out the bull. Sherborne was sick in Rome; his going would appear to have been caused by want of health; and truth to say, the journey would preserve his life.

5. Yet days and weeks rolled on, and Julius could not seal that bull. The summer slipped away; the autumn slipped away. Sherborne arrived in London; but he brought with him no papal grant. Wise men began to think the reference at an end. But Julius was a prince as well as priest. If Amboise had been able to support him, he might still have found the courage to resist; but he had many temporal things at stake; and dared not openly defy the King and Queen of Spain. He struggled long. Could not the King and Queen of Spain, he asked, be satisfied with his word of mouth? No, no, they answered; bulls were never given by word of mouth; and what they wanted was a public act. Then, said the Pontiff, they must give him time.

6. 'The Queen is lying sick,' her envoy answered him; 'her doctors cannot guess her malady; and no one but your Holiness can reach the seat of her disease.' Then he explained to Julius how the

matter stood. The Queen, having set her heart on making Catharine Queen of England, would not leave her bed, except on having an assurance from his Holiness that the dispensation had been given. But she was not unmindful of his sacred office. It was his to judge of times and seasons, and to publish his decisions when he pleased. She would no longer press him for a public act; an act that would be known to all the world; she merely asked for proof that her petition had not been cast aside. It was no other than a form for which she begged; but she was weak in body, and the satisfaction of her mind might save her. Let her hear the bull was sealed, and she might live again. In pity for her state, the Pope gave way. The draft was ready written, and he sealed it with the leaden seal. His act was personal and secret, not pontifical and public. It was not a dispensation from the penalties of sin. The Spaniard was enjoined to keep the secret close from every one save Isabel. Then his Holiness took that document away, and locked it in a secret drawer. No other eyes were meant to see that paper, and to scrutinize that seal.

7. This news was quickly borne to Isabel's Castle on the Mount. A third step had been gained. The draft was sealed. What more was wanted? They must get that paper from the secret drawer. They must announce its publication to the world. If it were published to the world, it would be hard for Julius to go back. Cesare Borgia was their pledge.

No doubt it would be wicked to abuse the Pope; but after what had been already done, a falsehood more or less was nothing; and at any cost of honour and religion, they resolved to gain possession of that papal seal. They told their envoy to repair once more to Julius in the Vatican, to crave the Pontiff's pity, to suggest the service they had rendered to the Holy See, and to procure by any means possession of that bull. The Queen, he was to say, was dying at her Castle on the Mount, but could not pass into her rest till she had seen the bull with her own eyes. A mother, it concerned the happiness of her child; a sovereign, it concerned the welfare of her states. She yearned to kiss with parting lip the proof which he had given of his paternal care. Without that solace of the heart, she could not die in peace. His Holiness was moved to pity by the envoy's tale. Could he not help the dying woman? Unaware how far his kindness was to be abused, he took the paper from his desk, and lent it to the envoy, on a pledge, which bound his honour and the honour of his sovereigns, that no other eye should see it save the dying Queen's.

8. About the middle of November the unpublished bull was at Medina del Campo, in the Queen's apartments. Not a day was lost in pausing on the act of shame. Regardless of the Pope's entreaty and her envoy's pledge, she instantly displayed the papal bull, not only to her secretaries, to her council, to her husband's ministers, but to the chiefs of all

the orders in her realm. She and the King conjoined, put out a proclamation, dated from Medina, which they published in every city, town, and port, of Catharine's marriage to the Prince of Wales. 'When Henry dies,' this proclamation ran, with an indecent haste, 'Catharine will be Queen of England.' To complete this act of treachery to a noble but embarrassed Pope, Fernando sent a copy of the bull to London—saying nothing of the Pope's conditions and his envoy's pledge of honour—with a request that Henry would announce the publication by his letters-patent to the Catholic world!

CHAPTER X.

CASTLE ON THE MOUNT.

1504.

1. THIS breach of faith with Julius was the last of Isabel's public acts. She had already made her will, and Catharine's marriage was the final subject on her mind. In sending out the bull to London, not a word was dropt about the private seal, the urgent craving, and the secret pledge. She and her husband meant the English council to assume that Rome had given a dispensation in the usual way, and they imagined that a fraudulent publication by an English letter-patent would compel the Pontiff to complete his act of grace. If Henry had been eager for the bull to come, he might have fallen into the snare, and made himself a party to their scandalous breach of faith. But Henry was no child in cunning, and his news from Rome was fresh in date. A week before that copy came to London, Sherborne, who had just arrived from Rome, had told him that his cause was still before the Cardinals, and might be held in doubt for several months to come. He showed this news to Puebla, with some feigned regret that things were going on ill in Rome.

2. On seeing that the King was not deceived, Puebla implored him to indite a letter to the Pope insisting that the dispensation should be given. The King replied that he would write. A copy of a letter to his Holiness was given to Puebla for his masters at their Castle on the Mount. According to this copy, Henry begged the Pope to recollect that he had written to the third Pius, and the sixth Alexander, both of whom had heard about his Case, and would have granted his request if they had only lived; also that he had been expecting Sherborne with the bull; and as his Dean of St. Paul's had come without it, he desired the Pope to send it by the English envoys who were still in Rome. But issuing letters patent was a different thing to writing private notes. He would not publish the pretended bull. Yet no small part of Isabel's object had been gained by this deceit. On hearing of her treachery, his Holiness might fret and storm; but while she had Cesare Borgia in a dungeon near her person, he could do no more than fret and storm. The deed was done, and must be brazened out. By sending copies of the bull to London, she had brought to light the Pontiff's promise that a dispensation should be given. The English councillors had seen the bull. No Pontiff could undo what had been done. What matter if the Vatican were angry? Could the Pope restrain Cesare Borgia? Could the Cardinals keep Gonsalvo out of Rome?

3. It was her latest public act. Fernando, who

had left her ailing, galloped to Medina on the first alarm that she might die. He came on a November day, in time to add some codicils and clauses to her will and testament. Six weeks ago her testament had been signed; an honest paper in the main; which left her kingdom to her daughter and that daughter's husband, as her lawful heirs, without a word suggesting that her daughter was unsound of mind. Juana was enjoined to show her father due respect and love. But she was left a queen. Fernando cast these clauses to the wind, by getting Isabel to add a fifth and over-riding clause, in which the dying woman 'ordered' the Archduchess and her husband, as they hoped to have her blessing and the blessing of Almighty God, to be 'obedient subjects' to the King. They were enjoined to serve, obey and honour him in all things, as the best of fathers, kings, and men. This over-riding clause was signed one week before she died.

4. By many a previous sign the King had shown his purpose of usurping Isabel's power the moment she had passed away, and now his presence at the Castle on the Mount was felt by all to be the prelude to a storm. Some nobles took alarm, and could not be appeased by monk and scribe. Friends asked each other what was meant, and where a remedy should be sought. The Duke of Najara and the Marquis of Villena took a leading part in opposition to the King. Velasco, Constable of Castille, was with his peers. A message was despatched to Flanders,

calling on the Archduke Philip to assume the crown, and stand in readiness to support the party of his wife. Philip was but too easy to persuade; since, by a treaty with the French, he had already secretly assumed the name of King. Juana was a popular idol, for as yet the story of her lapsing faith and failing brain had not been widely spread. The law was on her side; the pride and glory of Castille were on her side. From Burgos to Granada, every capital of her country would have welcomed her with rapture, and the shrewdest agents of Fernando were disposed to cast their lot with her. Juan Manuel, who had served her father many years, deserted him in favour of his child. In the Castle on the Mount, and under the arcades of Medina, there were loud and menacing murmurs. Pedro Garcia de Sarmiento, Mayor of Medina del Campo, made no secret of his opposition to the King and Queen, whose grinding tyrannies had become too hard for men to bear. The citizens were with their chief, and strong as were the walls and gates, that Castle on the Mount was far from safe.

5. On Sunday, four days after Isabel had signed that over-riding clause which spoke of Philip and Juana as Fernando's 'subjects,' she was induced to sign a letter-patent, which might serve her husband for a prop, in case he could not carry out his larger plan. This letter-patent was addressed to all her prelates, dukes, and counts, her priors, captains, justices, and other officers of state, informing them

that in the event of her daughter, the Archduchess, being either absent from the country, or unable to discharge the duties of her rank, the King, her father, should continue to 'reign, govern, and administer her kingdom till Don Carlos should attain the age of twenty years.' Before she signed this letter-patent, she is reported to have made her husband swear that he would never take a second wife; an act which proved at once her prudence and her jealousy; for if Fernando were to wed another consort, he might have another son; and then that monarchy of Spain, which they had built at so much cost, would fall asunder, and the people would be harassed by the ancient rivalries of Aragon and Castille.

6. On Tuesday night a tempest swept across the damp and howling plain, and roared against the Castle on the Mount. A spirit, darker and more fretful than Cesare Borgia's, seemed to haunt the pile, and yell with menaces among those spectral ruins of an antique world. The Queen was sinking in her pain, surrounded by the monks and scribes whom she had hired to praise her. Morning dawned, but no improvement was observed. A wail of wind and rain beat heavily on her walls, yet through this rage of nature, her attendants in the sick-room caught a roar of human voices in the court below. The news that she was sinking had been carried through the streets and alleys of Medina, and the citizens had rushed from gate and fortress, swarmed

across the brook Zafardiel, scaled the Mount, and gathered near the ditch to hear that she was gone. 'The tyrant is about to die!' one shouted to another. 'She will die and go to hell!' was shouted in reply. Pedro de Sarmiento was among this crowd. About the hour of noon she passed away, and her Italian scribe sat down and wrote a pastoral on her virtues. 'No one of her sex, in either ancient or in modern times, is worthy in my judgment to be ranked with this incomparable woman,' wrote Pietro Martire, that Italian scribe It was her system. But her people held another language. When her neighbours, who were waiting in the storm beneath her ramparts, heard that she was gone, they rent the air with shouts and curses. Pedro de Sarmiento gave the popular feeling voice: 'The usurpress is no more!' he cried. 'Her soul has gone to hell; for her oppression of her people, she has gone to hell!'

7. Fernando fared no better at their hands than Isabel. 'Fernando,' cried the Mayor, who fancied that the King was but a stranger in the country now the Queen was gone, 'is nothing but a robber and a rogue!' The King gave way—in seeming—to this storm. Descending from the Castle on the Mount, he walked into the town, and going to the public square, he mounted on a platform, where the banner of Castille had been unfurled by the Duke of Alva, and he cried to the great crowds before him, 'Long live King Philip and Queen Juana of Castille!'

Book the Eleventh.

CATHARINE PRINCESS.

CHAPTER I.

CROYDON PARK.

1504.

1. Of Catharine living as a widow in her teens at Croydon Park, within the pale and shadow of the church, we have some pictures painted by herself. She wrote in free and ample terms, uncovering all her heart. Her letters are not all extant; for in the after-battles of her life, when every scrap of writing from her pen became of moment, cabinets were searched and secretaries bribed, to give up what they held in keeping; yet enough remains of Catharine in these early days to show us how she shaped her life at Croydon Park.

2. At Croydon Park, and even at Durham House, the girl was very much alone. The Primate never rode to Croydon Park, the Prelate never called at Durham House. Although she slept beneath their

roofs, she had no profit from the company of these holy men, who were too busy with the King's affairs to waste their time on one whom they regarded as a sort of royal nun.* Her semi-oriental habits, her enfeebled health, her fear of what might lie in waiting, and the fancies of her foreign servants, led her to prolong the days of her seclusion from the world. Elvira, the dueña, thought this semi-oriental style became her rank, her office, and her sorrow. She was leading a conventual life, without the drawback of conventual vows. A bishop's house and primate's park, with monk and priest for ever in her sight, were proper dwellings, the dueña thought, for one who had been widowed in her teens. Elvira had the story of her eldest sister, Isabel, fresh in mind, and knew how high in favour of the Church that moping sister had been held. She had some knowledge of the dangers which beset the beautiful Archduchess. Catharine, to be safe, should nestle near the Church. Where could a member of the Order of St. Francis spend her mourning days more seemingly than in a primate's park among the Surrey hills, and in a bishop's palace by the river Thames?

3. When Catharine was bereft of her best friend and counsellor, Elizabeth the Good, she lived still more alone, seeing no company, reading few books and letters, and with no one but her maids of honour, her dueña, and her native servants, in the house. Puebla gave his full approval to this course of life; for he was well aware how much it pleased

the King; and he had reasons of his own for wishing to oblige the King. Though Henry loved the child in a paternal way, as he had always done, he could not bear as yet to see her face. She was the widow of his son, his peerless prince, his heir of Camelot. To him, a widow was a sort of nun,—a woman who had lived her life, had bowed her head in grief, and entered on a state of grace. All widows whom he knew lived more or less in nunneries. His mother had oftentimes retired into a convent, and his wife's mother spent her days in that of Bermondsey. The King was pleased that Catharine chose to stay in England, for he thought of her, not only as a widow of his son, but as of a pledge for Spain. So long as Catharine was at Croydon Park, her parents could not press him over-much. They dared not raise the flag of Pole; yet he was careful to retain her in a separate and conventual court. Since he was scheming for a French alliance, as a counterpoise to the Imperial match with Spain, it would have been unwise to place this blooming girl, so touching in her youth and in her grief, too near his son the Prince of Wales.

4. Her mother, while she lived, had written to her now and then; the King, her father, rarely; and her letters out of Spain, though few and long between, had not been weighted with much store of love. The child wrote warmly, even to her father: for her heart was young and fresh, in spite of her Franciscan tutors and Dominican guards; but he

was far too busy with his amours and his treaties to respond with love. In one of her appeals to him, written on the day her mother died, she begged the King, her father, to bestow on her a line of comfort, —one poor line of comfort,—as she had not read a word of his for upwards of a year.

5. But Croydon Park was not a convent like the house of Santa Clara in Coimbra, nor was Catharine, even in her years of mourning, ready to become a nun. A girl of flesh and blood,—the flesh not weak, the blood not water,—with a growing appetite for meat and wine, a brisk and saucy tongue, a riotous temper, an unbending will,—a girl to work her way through fibs and flatteries of the baser sort, if fibs and flatteries of the baser sort seemed necessary to her purpose,—such was Catharine in those early days at Croydon Park, as painted by her own too faithful pen. She liked to feast and dance, to frisk and romp, and when her means ran out, she showed no fear of getting into debt. Her path was one in which a saint might well have tripped; and it is only justice to the child to say she was no saint. A clever girl, not eighteen years of age, she saw that all her feelings as a daughter and a widow had been made the sport of kings. Since Padre Alessandro had been called away, she had no friend on whom she could rely. Elvira was her mother's deputy, paid to do that mother's will. In every quarrel of her household, Isabel took Elvira's part. Elvira must be satisfied; Elvira must be lady of the house;

Elvira must be treated as her second self. Her maids had not been chosen by herself; and even when she learned to like them well, she was refused, by orders from her mother, to enjoy the solace of their company in her room alone. Elvira must be always at her side.

6. The men who came to Croydon Park and Durham House were pulling her in different ways, and she was utterly unable to perceive their drift. Estrada told her one thing, Puebla hinted the reverse. Each made a party in her ante-room against the other, and reported, with a clerical and southern warmth, whatever evil thing he heard directly to her mother's closet and her father's camp. When Guter came, the state of her affairs grew worse than ever, since his presence in the country raised another faction in her house. These quarrels grew so high at Croydon, that Manrique had a disagreement with his wife, on which Elvira made appeal to Spain. Without a word of reference to her daughter on the spot, the Queen had chosen to declare Elvira in the right. 'Do what you can to please her,' she had said, by way of orders to the Duke. 'Make every one obey her, pacify her rage, and beg her to forgive her husband, if she can.'

7. One comfort Catharine found amidst these household brawls. The King, who loved to spend his summer days in field and forest, carried her to Richmond, where a little court was formed by Lady Mary, now become a lovely, though a delicate child.

From Richmond all the party went to Windsor, where they stayed a fortnight, going out into the forest every day to hunt. The Prince of Wales, who lived at Richmond for his studies, joined the royal party. Tall and stout, a daring rider and a deadly shot, the Prince, though under fourteen years of age, was just the youth to shine in royal hunts and ladies' eyes. On quitting Windsor Castle, they returned to Richmond Palace, where the Prince was to resume his studies, while the other company dropped down the Thames to London. When about to drop from Richmond, Catharine fell into a curious sickness. No one knew of what she ailed; but after three days' suffering, she was able to resume her trip.

CHAPTER II.

SICK OF LOVE.

1504.

1. The royal party dropped to Westminster, where Catharine stayed with Lady Mary and the King, instead of going on to Durham House, her proper London home. The traces of her illness were not all removed, and Henry, though he had to go on public business into Kent, proposed to take her for a change of air to Greenwich, his peculiar home. A week passed by; the water-side and breezy park appeared to do her good; and then the Richmond symptoms showed themselves again. She lost her appetite for meat and wine. The colour left her cheek; a bloodless pallor took the place of rose and cream. A hectic cough set in. As all the King's arrangements had been made for going into Kent, he was obliged to start; yet as the Prince, his son, was going with him, he could not in prudence carry Catharine too. She, therefore, was removed to Durham House, where the licentiate, who had lived with her some time as doctor, took her case in hand, assured that by a bolus and a lancet he could set the Princess on her feet.

2. From the Isle of Sheppy, Henry wrote a letter full of comfort to the widowed girl, and sent a trusty friend to see her in his name. Since she had been unwell when he was forced to leave, the time would seem, he said, too long before he could receive good news. He loved her as a daughter; as a daughter of his own. She might confide her wishes to his trusty servant. If she knew of anything to be done in order to improve her health, he was prepared to carry out her wishes to the limit of his power. If he could do anything to give her pleasure, he was ready to perform a father's part. To Catharine such a letter must have been a balm. Nor was his kindness limited to a soothing note. He sent her many messages, and offered to attend on her in person when she wished him to appear at Durham House. He offered to call in the whole body of practitioners in his kingdom to her aid. In minor matters he was not less careful. Though he would not interfere directly in the quarrels of her people, he was always ready to assist her indirectly in maintaining peace.

3. Catharine never understood the canons and civilians who surrounded her at Durham House. At first they said she was a widow; afterwards they told her she had never been a wife. The men who spoke these words were learned men, as ripe in office as they were in years. Her mother, whom she thought the wisest queen on earth, had sent them over to instruct her youth. How could a girl

of eighteen fight against these envoys? Yet they were making claims for her, one of which must be wrong. In every question as to title, state, and jointure, she was treated by the Spanish ministers as Arthur's widow, while in every question as to the disposal of her hand in marriage, she was held to be as free as in her maiden days. How could a girl of eighteen summers understand these subtleties of law? One moment she was called Princess of Wales, another she was called Princess of Spain. A wife and not a wife; a widow, yet without a widow's right; was Catharine in her lonely room at Durham House. Of one thing only she was sure; she was the prisoner of her servants; and Elvira, as her mother's deputy, held her under lock and key.

4. In striving for some liberty, she showed no little of her mother's talent for advancing by a crooked road. She learned to play one minister against his fellow. To a girl of eighteen years, a duke of noble presence and of ancient name was likely to eclipse a coarse, provincial mayor, who dressed in rags, and bothered her with quips and quirks of law. She had preferred Ayala, whom this mayor had driven away from Durham House. She liked Estrada, who had come to make her queen, and who was moving heaven and earth to marry her to the Prince of Wales. But Puebla was regarded by the Princess as a foe. She thought him cold in her affairs; uncertain in his views; inclined to dally with the King. The girl had barely entered

on her mother's scheme, before she found good reasons to suspect that Puebla, under much pretence of zeal in her behalf, was labouring to defeat the objects which she had so much at heart. No worse a thing than malice urged him, she supposed, to take this course; the malice of a vain and fretful man, who held his talents to be slighted when these dukes and knights came over; but his malice was too much for her imperious temper to endure. She could not bear his rags, his scraps of law, his hints of failure, and she set herself to thwart, abuse, and weaken him. When he appeared at Durham House, she kept him waiting in an ante-chamber, with her menial servants. Sometimes she refused to see him, and the business in his charge stood over day by day and week by week.

5. Puebla was not a man who could be safely left to go his way. He knew too much, and had too many friends at court. If he were pushed too far, no sense of loyalty to his distant master would suffice to stop his tongue. The note from Padre Alessandro, which had caused that honest priest to be recalled to Spain, had passed beneath his eye. A man so armed for mischief was a dangerous foe to face; and Catharine made this man, who should have been her servant, the most secret and most active of her foes. Not once, but many times, she flouted him, forgave him, flouted him again, and then again forgave him. More than once he seemed to have returned to loyal service; to have made a

compact with Elvira; to have entered on the business of his country; but the truce was always hollow, and the Princess, after trying him a fourth and fifth time, had to beg her father to recall the 'caitiff' into Spain.

6. A malady, for which physicians found no name in their professional lists, had fallen on Catharine. She was flushed by sudden heat, and chilled by sudden cold. These changes took her day and night. Her cough grew worse. She loathed the sight of meat and drink. A deadly pallor overspread her face. Sometimes her doctors said the thing was nothing, and a pill would set her right; at other times they spoke with serious mien. Her circulation was impeded. When their pill had failed, they tried a lancet, but the blood refused to flow. They cut a second time; no blood replied. What was the cause? The man who tried to bleed her was her own physician, a licentiate of his college, and an expert with his knife. She quickly rallied, and as quickly sank. One day, she seemed herself again, and sent off gladsome letters to the King. The next day, she was stricken down. Estrada thought the doctor was in fault. When he had failed a second time, he laid his knife apart, and trusted to his pills. The poor licentiate never guessed that the disease was in her mind; that pills were weak as lancets; and that no physician was of use to her except the Pope of Rome.

CHAPTER III.

REPUDIATION.

1504–5.

1. CATHARINE, who was staying with the King and Lady Mary in the palace, wrote a letter to her mother on the day that mother died. She had been writing to her frequently; three times in recent days; and she had sent her letters through the hands of Puebla. News more cheering had arrived by way of Flanders, whence her sister sent her word that the attack of ague, and the fever which ensued, had passed away. Her heart was very glad; but still she could not rest until she saw a letter from her mother's hand. What other comfort had she in the world compared to that of knowing that her mother was in health?

2. On going from the public square into his Castle on the Mount, Fernando wrote a letter to the King of England, which his prisoner in that fortress might have envied as a master-piece of diplomatic art. God had been pleased, he said, to take his consort Isabel, to Himself. Her death was the greatest loss that could have fallen on him. The King of England, he was sure, would feel his

sorrow like a brother; but he felt one comfort in his misery; she was gone into her glory. He submitted to the will of God. Before she died, he said, she had ordained and settled by her will that he should govern and administer her kingdoms of Castille, Leon, Granada, and the whole of their dependent states. No change was therefore caused by her decease in his relation to external courts. He was already governor and administrator in her name; in future he would govern and administer those kingdoms in the name of Queen Juana. Not a word was said of Philip in this letter. Not a hint was dropped of his renunciation in the public square. In his humility before the people of Medina, he was only King of Aragon, and, in the absence of his daughter, governor of Castille; but in his letter to the King of England, he was still, as he had been for many years, the reigning King of Spain.

3. It seemed as though the death of Isabel might throw a larger share of power into Fernando's hands. No one in either Rome or London dreamt that his authority in Spain was shaken by her death. The Pope was sorely tried. Though angry at the breach of faith, he saw no method of retreating from the ground he had been led in pity to assume. A copy of the bull was out. His cardinals were free, but he had lost his liberty of choice. Not only had his pledge been given; not only had the bull been sealed; not only had that bull been sent to Spain; but it had been displayed to many persons at

Medina; and a copy of it had been laid before the English council. How could he stand out against these facts? The woman at Medina had outwitted and betrayed him. Borgia, flying falcons from his window in her tower, was not more thoroughly at Fernando's mercy than himself. He called his nephew, Sylvestro di Giglis, and informed that prelate of the breach of faith observed towards him in Spain. The matter must, he said, be ended now. Sylvestro might repair to London with the bull.

4. The weight now fell on Henry's back. Fernando had returned the articles, proclaimed a peace with England, and conferred on English subjects privilege of trade. These acts had been accomplished eighteen months ago, and England had refused as yet to answer them in kind. To dally further was to rouse a dangerous spirit in Castillian hearts. Already, they were bursting with resentment; for the King, they thought, would neither marry Catharine to his son, nor let her sail for Spain. Was she a prisoner, like the Lady Excellenta? Henry was compelled to move a step, in order to postpone a rupture; and to take such step at once in order to reserve some liberty of action to his son. In three months more, that son would close his fourteenth year. At fourteen years of age a youth could take upon himself a binding vow. Unless these acts were done in time, the Prince would be required to sign and swear, and one sure avenue of escape would then

be closed. At Canterbury, therefore, on the twelfth of March, a royal order was delivered by the lords, repeating, with the needed change of words, Fernando's former text. Peace was announced with Spain; the project was considered settled; and the Spanish merchants were admitted to all native privilege of trade.

5. But Henry had no sooner signed these orders than he took his measures of defence. When scanned by legal eyes, the bull, as sent from Spain, was seen to have three capital flaws. The statements in the Case, to which the King was bound, were not repeated in the bull, and nothing that the King had done compelled him to accept the paper in that altered shape. The bull had not been published by the Pontiff; and a private paper, though it should be regular in substance and in sealing, had no legal force. The Prince was not betrothed by 'word of mouth,' as stated in the bull. Being under age, he could not bind himself: and in the ceremony of betrothal at Salisbury Court, another voice than his had given the pledge by 'word of mouth.' If Henry had desired his son to carry out that pledge, he would have asked him when he came of age to take the surety's place, and pledge his love to Catharine in the usual form. He asked him to perform a very different act. Before the Prince had been one hour of age, a private council was convened at Richmond palace, on the twenty-seventh of June. Fox, bishop of Winchester, was present: as were also Daubeney,

Somerset, and West, together with three other witnesses. Henry, Prince of Wales, deposed before these councillors, that he had been contracted during his minority to Catharine, Princess of Wales; that he had now attained the age of puberty; that he could judge and act for himself; that he refused to ratify the contract made for him; that, on the contrary, he denounced that rite in Salisbury Court as null and void.

6. This act of repudiation was no secret in the court, and Catharine soon became aware of what the Prince had done. When Puebla spoke to Henry on the subject, nothing was denied, though Henry told him to regard the renunciation as a legal form, intended to preserve his right of asking for the unpaid portion of the lady's dowry. Puebla was uneasy in his mind. The dowry due from Spain was still unpaid; and while that dowry was unpaid, the English sovereign was not bound to carry out the articles. But if Puebla was uneasy, Catharine was dismayed. On her engagement with the Prince, she had been much at court; at Greenwich, Westminster, and Richmond; where, in spite of an appearance of retirement, which was still preserved about her, by the King's express desire, she saw the tall and handsome boy on whom her heart was set. A little freedom had been won, a little gaiety had been allowed. But now, on her repudiation by the Prince of Wales, the old, dull life of Croydon Park was forced upon her; a con-

ventual life without the passion and the comfort of religious vows. Elvira ruled her with a woman's nerve, and Puebla teased her with a pedant's rules. The girl was sinking into debt, yet dared not ask her father for relief. Her servants were unpaid, and in their pride and poverty they stormed at her. She could not calm them, nor would Henry interfere. They were her father's people, he replied; her father must provide for them and govern them. Her dowry being unpaid, all contracts with her father were annulled. She had no claims on English bounty. Bounty! Had it come to such a pass that they were giving her meat and drink as alms? Her proud and sensitive heart was fit to burst.

CHAPTER IV.

SELF-ASSERTION.

1505.

1. Stung into self-assertion, the repudiated bride of Durham House assumed the conduct of her own affairs. She was a child no longer; she was in her twentieth year; and both her mother and her mother-in-law were gone. She loved the Prince, and wished to marry him. The Pope, she understood, had given a dispensation for their union. Nothing, she imagined, but a question as to certain scudos kept her separated from the youth who was her heart's desire. But while she waited for her dowry to be paid, her debts were growing fast; and she was forced to make a last appeal. She told the King her life was wretched; her days were spent in misery; and if her debts were left unpaid, the King himself would suffer in his fame. She prayed him to afford her help. If she had spent her means on luxuries, the King might fairly leave her to her wants; but she had borrowed money from the bankers, she declared, in order to supply her table with the commonest food. If she had not been able to procure a loan, she must have starved to death.

2. She turned towards Spain, and, seeing how

the King, her father, had been gambling with her life, she looked to have her share in what was won. The situation of her sister and her father, as contending rulers in Castille, presented to her mind an opening for intrigue. Although Fernando had proclaimed his daughter, he had never dreamt of giving up his power. In what way he would carry out his plan was still uncertain. Philip was a man too high for him to satisfy with words. He had the Empire at his back. He had an ally in the King of France. Max was already putting on his mail, and asking who would lend him money for a rub with Spain. Louis was preparing for the day of his revenge. Amboise was closeted with Max and Philip in the old free town of Hagenau. Venice was represented at this congress in the person of Vincenzo Quirini, an accomplished youth, who was described as being more admirable than the Admirable Crichton. Many of the greatest nobles of Castille were sending to the King and Queen at Ghent. Gonsalvo, a Castillian, with the feelings of his order, was in secret correspondence with his foes. Some members of Fernando's staff advised him to resume the name of King, forbid the lawful King and Queen to enter Spain, and send an army to his frontiers to repel attack. But he was less inclined to open force than secret guile and fraud. If things were carried in that lofty way, the Cortes might protest. If war broke out, the gains of thirty years would be at stake. The

army and the monkish orders might be true to him; the soldiers were devoted to a chief who never failed them; and the fathers were alarmed at the opinions of their queen; but who could tell him how the towns would go?

3. Convinced that Philip would assert his claims, that Max would aid his son, that France would try another field, Fernando cast about him for the means of checking them. At once his thoughts ran off to Santa Clara, where the Lady Excellenta lived. His bond and oath forbade him to espouse another wife; but he had never held to either bond or oath when it had served his turn. If he could marry her, and set her up as queen, he might again be king in virtue of his wife. This match would brand the memory of Isabel, and might exclude her daughters from the throne; but he was callous as to what men said of Isabel, whose ashes he had laid in the Franciscan convent at Granada, and her children were to him no more than factors in a high and dazzling game. He wanted to recover his estate as King of Spain. Juana, though his child, was in his way, and any means of sweeping her aside were lawful in his eyes. Could he persuade the Excellenta to accept him and a crown? Rodrigo Manrique, an experienced envoy, went to Portugal, and tried to open a negotiation in his name. The royal Nun was coy. This lady was no longer young. Her spirit had been broken to her fate, and having been already wooed a dozen times, she had no heart for love and no ambition

for a throne. She had the sad delight of seeing her cruellest enemy at her feet, but she was either in no mood to quit her cell, or loathed the man too deeply to accept from him her lawful crown. The Excellenta's offers had been very strange. She had refused Fernando's son, and now she had refused Fernando's self.

4. Repulsed at Santa Clara by his niece, Fernando turned to Isabel's will and letter-patent. Under one of three conditions (Juana's absence from the kingdom, her unwillingness to govern, or her inability to do her duty) he was left to take upon himself the sovereign power as Regent of Castille. The first condition, that of absence, had arisen. So soon as he could prove the will and show the patent, he might enter on the duties of his rank. But in the face of public passion, he could hardly call a meeting of the Cortes in Toledo; nor could any other city in Castille be trusted to approve his virtual deposition of another Queen. A storm of rage was rising up against him. What the mayor had said of him in Medina was repeated in a hundred towns. His genius and his service were forgotten. He was branded as the Catalan, the Old Catalan; which in the idiom of Toledo meant a rascal and a thief. Some safer city must be sought. Fernando had not far to go. Beyond the frontier, on the low and windy plains of Leon, stood Toro, a decaying town, near which his first great victory had been won. At Toro he had crushed one Queen

Juana. Toro was an open town, and easily kept in awe. At Toro, therefore, Isabel's will and letter-patent were read to procurators of the Cortes, who were sworn to pay due fealty and obedience to Juana, Queen proprietor of Castille. When they had sworn, they were informed in private that Juana was unable to discharge the duties of her station; so that by the will and patent of her mother, the administration of her kingdom fell upon her sire. Fernando was requested by these procurators to assume the reins as Regent of Castille.

5. In Flanders with her jovial, handsome, and licentious lord, Juana heard of these events at Toro. Max declared that he would march; and Louis sent fresh forces into Languedoc. Velasco flew to arms. A general war seemed ready to break out. Could anything, Fernando asked, be done with Philip? Philip was a vain and restless fellow, short of money like his father, and impatient of divided rule. Could he be tempted to divide his interest from his wife's? An overture was made to Philip and to Philip's servants. Could the Archduke be induced to share the revenue and government with Fernando? Could his counsellors be bribed with money, titles, and commands? The Flemish councillors proved to be corrupt. M. de Verre accepted a pension of three thousand ducats a-year; M. de la Chau one thousand ducats a-year; and other men five hundred ducats a-year. Fernando offered more than gold. The first bishopric in Spain was promised to M. de

Verre's brother, and a hint was given that knighthoods and commanderships in the great military orders of Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcantara, might be placed at the disposal of these friends of Spain. With Juan Manuel nothing could be done; for Manuel was a proud and honest man; nor was it clear what course the King-Archduke might take. Manuel wished to treat Fernando as an enemy, while Verre was willing to regard him as a partner. Each stood high in Philip's favour, and before he went to Spain, these hostile councillors were both admitted to his order of the Golden Fleece. The plan suggested by Fernando's agents was, that Philip should complain about his wife, as being unduly jealous and imperious, and should request that while she held the name and state of Queen, the rule and revenue of her country should be shared between her father and himself. Verre and Chau were willing to go farther, even to the extent of saying with the Spanish agents that Juana was unsound of mind. Quirini noted her at the moment as 'very handsome, sensible, and discreet.' Juana, having her suspicions of Verre and Chau, detested these advisers of her husband, and was certain to annul their pensions when she got to Spain. They paid her hatred back in kind, and worked on Philip's passions to divide him from his charming wife.

6. No one was more alive to these intrigues than the repudiated bride at Durham House. On one point she was living in the dark. Shut up with

priests and women, and dependent for her news on Puebla and Elvira, each of whom had reasons for misleading her, Catharine had been led to think the main, if not the only obstacle to her marriage was the unpaid dowry, which her father could not be induced to send. She had not heard the reasons why he kept that portion of her dowry back—his firm conviction that whether he paid or not, the King, his ally, would not suffer Catharine to espouse the Prince of Wales. With Henry it was not a case of money, but of conscience and of terror. He was frightened, both on spiritual and on temporal grounds, by such a project as the Spanish match. 'This marriage,' Lopez wrote to Manoel, 'weighs too heavily on the King's conscience; it will never come to pass.' But no one told the truth to Catharine. Elvira's brother, Manuel, was expecting to be Philip's minister in Spain. Elvira, in the hope of turning her against her father, strove, by all a woman's wit, to make her think that nothing but Fernando's lust of money stood between her and her hopes. The dowry was in Spain; if Philip and Juana were in Spain that dowry would be paid. So said Elvira. Catharine was beginning to detest the man whose policy was leading her to ruin; and she talked so openly against her father that the King rebuked her for a violence which seemed to him unseemly in Fernando's child.

7. Catharine sought to bring the court and council over to the Austrian camp. She angled for

the King with an enticing bait. The fascinating Marguerite of Austria was a widow for the second time. Young, rich, and lovely, daughter of an emperor, and herself a queen of wit and song, she was a prize whom any lover might have been proud to win. Intrigues were soon afoot. Elvira was Juana's subject, and when agents came from Ghent to Croydon Park, she took them into Catharine's room. Catharine was told that if a meeting of the English King could be arranged with Philip and Juana, her affairs would soon be settled as she wished. At such a meeting anything could be done. Juana would obtain her kingdom; Catharine's dowry would be paid; Henry would get possession of his rebel; Marguerite would ascend the English throne; and Henry, Prince of Wales, would marry his repudiated bride. Unluckily, these men from Ghent could speak no Spanish, and neither Catharine nor Elvira knew a word of Latin. They were forced to send for Puebla, and the cripple, while affecting to be with them heart and soul in what they were about, reported every word they said to Spain. 'I am amazed,' he chuckled in his letter, 'at their indiscretion; but I think his Highness ought to gain by it.' Fernando turned this information to the best account.

CHAPTER V.

DOCTOR DE PUEBLA.

1505.

1. A SCENE occurred at Durham House, which Lopez de Vega might have thrown into a comic play. Suspecting mischief, Puebla kept his eye on Durham House; observing who arrived, how long they stayed, and when they left. He waylaid messengers and questioned servants. Bit by bit, he learned the news from Ghent. Juana had accepted Catharine's plan. A meeting of the Princes was proposed. If Henry would repair to Calais, Philip and Juana would go to St. Omer, near which a meeting could be held on neutral ground, which Henry might himself select. He felt that here was serious news for Spain. In any personal meeting of these princes Philip would be over-reached by Henry, and he knew that Henry was prepared for any measure, short of actual war, in order to obtain the custody of Edmond de la Pole.

2. Not feeling safe at Aachen, where his duns pursued him in the streets, and where the French kidnappers waited to surprise him, Pole had asked Charles d' Egmont, Duke of Gueldres, to give him an

asylum in his states. Leaving his brother Richard in the town of Aachen as a hostage for the payment of his debts, Pole had thought of visiting George, Duke of Saxony, in Friesland, where he hoped to get both men and money for his enterprise. At first he had been well received in Gueldres. Troops had been enlisted in his name; a thousand men, or more; and funds alone were wanting to enable him to charter ships, and tempt his fate by landing on the English coast. But soon the heyday of his fortunes had declined. James, King of Scots, had written to Charles of Gueldres, as his kinsman, to beware of Pole. The King of England, James had told the Duke, would never pardon Pole, and all the Princes in the world would fail if they attempted to upset the English King. Charles, Duke of Gueldres, had obeyed this hint from Scotland; first by asking Pole to pay his bill of costs—two thousand florins at the least; and next, on payment not being made, by clapping him in the fort of Wageningen. Pole had tried to steal away, and being followed, had been captured and brought back. A prisoner in the land where he had sought a refuge, Pole had now no hope of gaining his enlargement save in Philip, who was fighting with the Duke of Gueldres, and had asked to have the English lord delivered up to him. Gueldres had consented to his terms, but the engagement had not yet been carried out. At Wageningen, with his chaplain and some other servants, Pole was waiting for his cousin Philip to complete his work and set him free.

3. Puebla became aware that Philip's messengers had brought some news of Pole, with an instruction from their master to consult the King. The matter was, he heard, to be conducted with the greatest secresy. Philip's chief adviser, Juan Manuel, thought it wise to keep this prisoner as a pledge; and to delude the King of England with a show of amity. It was enough to say that Edmond de la Pole was now a prisoner of the King-Archduke, and that his brother Richard was a hostage in the hands of Kaiser Max. These counsels were extremely popular in the Flemish towns, where every one was crowing with delight on hearing that the English prince was in his master's hands. This captive was a curb on England, which might be driven to favour them with articles of trade. But Philip, as the cripple heard, was asking what the King would like. He also learned that Catharine was delighted at the coming of this news. Her main proposals were accepted on the other side. Philip would meet the King near St. Omer. A match of Marguerite of Austria with the King, her father-in-law, had been adopted by the Archduke and the Emperor. Two portraits of the Archduchess had been secretly brought over for the King to see.

4. In her excitement, Catharine, sent for Puebla to Durham House, to tell him all, and show him Philip's letters. When he came into her closet, she was writing to the English King. Esquivel, her master of the hall, was standing ready in his boots

and cloak to carry her epistle. She was writing in the warmest terms, and begging Henry to appoint the meeting for an early day. She meant to go to Calais with the King, she said, and see her sister and that sister's husband, ere they sailed for Spain. Max being then in Flanders, Puebla felt assured that he would also come to St. Omèr, and that another league would be proposed against the Regent of Castille. 'Señora,' said the cripple, 'I am going to the King of England. I will bear your letter with me. He will take it better from my hands than from a servant's.' Had this offer been accepted, Puebla would have taken care (as he reported to Fernando) that the whole affair should end in smoke. But Catharine answered him that she could send the letter by a messenger of her own. Puebla reminded her that the King, her father, had lately named him as her proper agent; named him in a letter written and subscribed with his own royal hand; so that to send her message by another person would appear to be neglecting his injunctions. She refused to listen. Puebla begged that she would wait at least till he had spoken with Elvira in a private room. The cripple and the deputy retired. Puebla told Elvira he would be offended if she sent that letter by Esquivel. She answered Esquivel should go. 'It is against my honour!' he exclaimed; and then he told her fiercely that her brother was a traitor to his sovereign lord, that he was acting as a creature of the King-Archduke, and that his

business was to put her brother down. Elvira seemed alarmed by what he said, and Puebla left her with a promise that the note should not be sent.

5. Going home to dine, the cripple was at meat when word was brought to him by spies whom he had placed near Durham House that he had been deceived. Esquivel had ridden off post haste. He could not eat a morsel. Rising in his rage, he left the dinner, ran to Durham House, and asked to see the Princess in her private room. His tone was high, his voice was loud. Elvira had betrayed him; he must see the Lady Princess in her room alone. When he had gained her chamber, he bade her swear a solemn oath that she would keep what he was going to say a secret. Catharine swore an oath. He then informed her that this meeting of the Kings had been arranged by Juan Manuel and Elvira for the injury of her father and her sister. Manuel was a traitor, and was seeking to undo his natural prince. Unless this thing were stopped, her family would be ruined. Catharine trembled at his words, and asked the envoy what she ought to do? Do! She must write another note to Henry; writing in cypher, so that no one could betray her. She must mount a rider on her fleetest horse, and send that rider off at once. He told her what to say and how to say it; nay, he chose the very words she was to write.

6. Completely cowed by this old man, whom she detested and despised, she took her pen and wrote.

She begged the King, her father-in-law, to think more kindly of the King, her father, than he had done. When she asked him to meet the King-Archduke she had not been aware how much her father would dislike that meeting. She had learnt it under oath of secresy from the Spanish envoy. Had she known it earlier she would not have asked the King to meet her brother-in-law; neither would she have sent her letter of that morning to his Highness. She assured the King that she had given up all idea of her project, and she prayed him not to think of it again. Puebla took this letter from her hand and sent it by a servant of his own, whom he enjoined to ride at his best speed and overtake Esquivel on the road. This servant also bore a letter from himself to Henry. Having seen the man ride off, Puebla returned to Catharine's room, and begged the Princess, as she loved her father, to deceive Elvira and the household in this matter. She must seem, he told her, to desire and to expect the meeting more than ever. No one must imagine she had changed her course. By her dissimulation in this business, she would serve the King, her father, more than by sending him a contingent of two thousand men. Catharine said she would obey, and Puebla thought her utterly subdued. In writing to Fernando later in the evening, Puebla said, 'The lady Princess has a good heart, and loves the King, her father, better than herself. She will preserve his secret safe.'

CHAPTER VI.

IN ENGLAND.

1506.

1. THE interview took place, though not, as Catharine had proposed, on neutral ground near Calais. No such neutral district could be found, and Philip would not trust himself inside the city gates. An accident supplied a fitting place. Juana and her husband, having hired a fleet of ships, and put two thousand minstrels, councillors, and abigails on board, set sail from Zealand in the midst of winter. Chau was with him; and Quirini followed, as in duty bound; his mission from the Signory being to wait upon the King-Archduke. Philip had received a warning that his father-in-law was threatening him at every point. If he should come into Castille, Fernando was to drive him back; to serve him as a matador serves a bull; to marry a young wife and disinherit Isabel's child in Aragon and Sicily. They were reporting that Juana was unsound in mind, and that her husband had been forced to lock her up. Indignant at these slanders on his wife, for which the hints of Verre and Chau had not prepared him, Philip had flung the calumny back into Fernando's teeth, and

put his wife on board the fleet, where every one could see and judge between her father and herself. While they were still on shore, no hint had reached the shrewd Venetian envoy that Juan was insane.

2. A tempest scattered them at sea, and Philip's vessel, after being thrice on fire and almost wrecked, was driven for shelter into Melcombe Roads. Some ships went down; some ran to distant ports. The German troops, with whom Quirini sailed, had landed on the Cornish coast. Juana had behaved throughout the storm with lofty courage; but the King and Queen, poor sailors at the best, were glad to find a refuge from the tempest, even in an English port. On kindly greeting from the King, they landed and became his guests; though their advisers urged them to depart, not only only on the ground that this delay would give Fernando time to plot, but would expose two young and ardent people to the dangerous courtesies of their English host. They rode to Windsor, Philip in advance. Juana found herself as popular in England as in Spain; her youth, her blood, her beauty, and her courage in the recent storm, attracting every eye and winning every heart. She came to Richmond, where she met her sister Catharine, for the first time since the girls had parted company on the Alhambra slopes. Juana rode through Windsor forest, and amused the King by entering from the Little Park, with hardly any fuss and noise. But Henry, warned in time, was waiting to receive her at the stair of his new tower

where he embraced and kissed her. Catharine stood beside the Kings, and when the sport of kissing, laughing, and explaining ended, all the company went up into her husband's lodgings on the river front. In Cornwall, where the strangers waited for their Prince, Quirini caught a rumour that the Queen was jealous, that the King and she had tiffs, and that, since leaving Zealand, she had seemed to be insane; but in the Windsor circle, where the ablest laymen and divines were near her many weeks, no one observed in her an intellectual flaw.

3. No part of Catharine's own design was carried out. If Henry and Philip met in conference, and they met in conference every day, they were too much engrossed to think of her. Pole was at Namur, in Philip's hands; the King was bent on getting hold of him. He had no thought of putting Pole to death, for it was now too plain to him that Warwick's execution was a grave mistake. No axe could cut away the House of York, and while a single man remained, the partizans of York would hail him as their prince. The way to treat this faction was to place the foremost Rose of York in ward, as Warwick had been placed in ward. While Warwick was alive no one could trouble Henry save a man who claimed to be King Edward's son. When Warwick perished, Edmond de la Pole became the Rose of York; and if this foolish prince should be removed by death, the honours of his house would fall on Richard de la Pole, a man with larger brains

and steadier purpose than the captive in Namur. It would have been poor science to raise this young and clever brother to the rank of Rose of York.

4. Pole was trying to negotiate for peace with Henry; but his notions were so lofty that the English council would not listen to his terms. Confined within the fortress of Namur, without a penny and without a friend, he held the language of a man with armies at his back. He offered to accept a pardon from the King and to resume his place at court. He asked to have his family estates, his father's dukedom, and the towns and castles he had forfeited. His brother William must be liberated from the Tower; his right of access and of audience must be granted; and a parliamentary guarantee for his security in England must be sent. Moreover, he required the King to use his influence with the Flemings to deliver him out of prison in Namur.

5. At Windsor, Henry had a 'secret room' in which he sometimes dined and slept. He carried Philip to this secret room, and there they settled articles of peace. The King of England was to marry Philip's sister, the Archduchess Marguerite; and Carlos, Philip's son, was to espouse the King's daughter, Lady Mary. Philip kissed the lovely girl, who came into the dining-room, and danced and played the lute till every one grew hearty in her praise. But neither Philip nor her father was sincere. The first desired to give his sister Marguerite to

Henry, and reserve his son, Don Carlos, for Madame Claude; the second, to deceive his Austrian guest with offers for the Archduchess Marguerite, and to secure the prize of Carlos for his daughter. Everybody was proposing wives to Henry. The Imperialists were offering him Marguerite of Austria, the Spaniards were offering him the Queen of Naples, and the French were offering him Louise de Savoie. Henry listened, smiled, and promised, so that every one in turn had hope of seeing a countrywoman mount the English throne. But all these things were distant, and the King had objects nearer to his heart. He wanted trade and wanted Pole. 'You have been saved on my coast,' said Henry to his guest, 'I hope you will not suffer me to be wrecked on yours.' The Archduke understood him well enough, yet Henry added; 'I mean that harebrained fellow, Suffolk, who is in your country, where he plays the fool, though every one is weary of the game.' 'If he troubles your Highness, I will banish him,' said Philip. 'Hornets are better in their nests, not flying out abroad,' quoth Henry, who explained that he should like the rebel peer to be surrendered. 'It is against my honour,' cried the Prince. 'If that be all,' said Henry, 'the affair is closed; I take the whole dishonour on myself.' As Philip still hung fire, the King suggested a perplexing question. Could he, Henry Tudor, marry the Archduchess Marguerite as Philip wished? Philip had asked to dine alone with Henry in his

secret room that day, and there a pedigree was shown to him by which the King's relationship to his sister proved to be within the near prohibited degrees. He was related to her on his father's side and on his mother's side. Could anything be done without a dispensation from the Pope?

6. While they were chaffering in the secret room, a French ambassador arrived. Louis, who had signed a treaty for the marriage of his daughter Claude to Carlos, was negotiating with the English court a marriage of his cousin, Marguerite d'Angoulême, with the Prince of Wales. On every side the Archduke-King was touched. The French might hear that he was treating for a marriage of his son, that son who was engaged to Claude; on which the King of France might turn against him in his Spanish enterprise. The French might also carry off the Prince of Wales from Catharine; and he feared the King would never carry out his contract with his sister, Marguerite of Austria. All these terrors told on Philip. Four days after he had dined with Henry in the secret chamber, when the pedigree was shown to him, he waited on the King and offered to surrender Pole.

7. To save the Archduke's credit, Henry undertook to spare his life and bring him over into England with as little violence as need be used. Yet Philip's fears about the French were groundless. They had passed already far beyond the stage of jealousy about his son. Their love of country had

prevailed above their pride. A secret compact had been signed at Blois, in presence of Cardinal d'Amboise, by the two ladies, Anne de Bretagne, Queen of France, mother of Claude, and Louise de Savoie, Comtesse d'Angoulême, mother of Francois, for the marriage of their children, one the heiress of Bretagne, the other heir of France. This act annulled the former treaty of Blois, by which Louis had engaged to give his daughter, Madame Claude, to Carlos. The Estates, convened at Blois, had ratified this contract. Francois was to marry Claude, and Bretagne to be saved for France.

8. Philip agreed to stay in England until Pole arrived. The details of delivery were not easy to arrange. The Archduke's councillors at Mechlin feared that even after Pole's surrender, Philip would be held in pledge. Remonstrances were, therefore, made against delivering Pole till Philip was on board his fleet. But Philip made the best as he had made the worst of his position at the English court. He was as much in Henry's power as Pole was in his own. No one would feel surprise if Henry were to lodge him in the royal keep. It was an age of force, and almost every prince in Europe had some rival, as a prisoner, on his hands. Louis had Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, in an iron cage at Loches. Fernando had Cesare Borgia, Duke of Valentinois, in his Castle on the Mount. Manoel had the Lady Excellenta in his convent of Coimbra. Henry had Courtney in the Tower. Philip had

Pole in his strong fortress of Namur. That fortress of Namur was not so strong as Windsor. If the keys were turned on Philip, who would help him to escape? Not Louis; not Fernando. There was Max, his father; but the Emperor could not hire and arm a vessel. Max had gone to Germany, breathing war and begging ducats to conduct that war; so pinched in purse, that both at Mechlin and at Worms he was obliged to leave his wife, the Empress, in the hands of tavern-keepers as security for the payment of his bills. No help could come from Max. Should Philip be detained in England, as Cesare was in Spain, as Ludovico was in France, no power on earth could set him free by force of arms. He had been frightened once before, and had no wish to tempt his fate. The Flemish towns would rail, no doubt, since they considered Pole 'a bit in Henry's mouth,' but he was proof against the railing of a mob whom he might never see again. Chau went over with an order to carry Pole to Calais, and deliver him to the English deputy. Pole being now in English hands, was brought to London and confided to the Tower. Philip and Juana went on board their ships, but leaving Catharine as they found her—a repudiated bride. Nothing had been done for her; and shortly after Philip and Juana left, the English minister in Spain received instructions to demand the payment of her dowry, and to threaten that the Princess should be instantly sent home.

CHAPTER VII.

KING PHILIP.

1506.

1. REPULSED from Santa Clara by the royal Nun, alarmed by the affair at Hagenau, and doubtful as to Philip's strength, Fernando had already turned his face towards France. No lady in that country could supply him like the Excellenta with a title to Castille; nay, any lady of that country who might marry him would jeopardize the union of Castille and Aragon to which he had devoted years of service, and for which he had committed endless crimes. But he was frantic in his rage against the Austrian Prince, whose councillors he had bribed, and what had seemed to be the public purpose of his life was hurled aside in jealousy and spite. Louis was smarting under his defeat in Naples, and might welcome a concession from the victor's side. What could he offer to the French, that Louis would desire to gain? That he must make some sacrifice was clear, and Naples was an easier sacrifice for him to make than Perpignan; the more so, as he found good reason to suspect Gonsalvo's faith. The Emperor and Philip had been

urging the great captain to revolt. Gonsalvo owed allegiance to Juana, not her father. Nearly all his peers, the grandees of Castille, were rallying to her flag. If war broke out with Louis, Naples, in Gonsalvo's hands, would not be safe. Suppose Fernando were to take a consort from the House of France and offer to resign to her his claim on Naples? Terms like these would spare the pride of Louis; and the French who looked upon the Austrians as their natural foe, could have no interest in extending the dominions of a family which hemmed in France on every side.

2. The woman of his choice was Germaine, daughter of Jean de Foix, Count of Narbonne, and Madame d'Orleans, a sister of King Louis. Eighteen years of age, and therefore younger than Fernando's youngest child, Germaine was fair of face and light of wit; a product of that airy court and school in which the partner of his son, Don Juan, had been trained. But he was far too angry to be wise. Her father was a son of Elinor of Aragon, that younger sister who had robbed him, as he fancied, of a kingdom in the Pyrenees. To Elinor, as to his brother Carlos, he had always borne a deadly spite, and he had followed her descendants with a malice that had never slept. From year to year, he had promoted troubles, and supported factions in her states. He had arrested and disgraced her son, Don Jaime, the Friend of Light. He had prevented her grandson Phœbus marrying the royal

Nun, and was suspected in the manner of his sudden death. His offer, therefore, seemed a portent; but the girl was young and flighty; and the King of France, her uncle, saw his profit in the match. A Catalan monk, Fray Juan de Enguera, had been sent to Paris with this offer for the hand of Germaine. Amboise raised few obstacles. A scheme that promised to divide the courts of Aragon and Austria by a personal feud, and part the two great monarchies of Spain, was highly welcome to the French. These terms had been submitted by the Catalan monk. Fernando was to yield his claims on Naples, to repay the French their losses in the war, and to restore the partizans of Louis in that kingdom to their titles and estates. What more could France desire? A victory in the field might give them less. Amboise consented, and Fernando was allowed to wed a princess of the House of France. Not six months after Isabel died, a second consort had been chosen by her perjured lord, and their Italian conquests had been sundered from the crown of Spain.

3. When Philip and Juana landed at Coruña and advanced into the country, they were welcomed as the lawful King and Queen. Juana and her husband kept to their engagements with the court at Windsor. They announced in every city the betrothal of their son to Lady Mary, and on coming to Valladolid they made a solemn publication in

the chapel royal of the banns for Henry, King of England, and their sister, the Archduchess Marguerite. No acts of theirs so mortified Fernando as this giving of his heir in marriage without asking his consent. Fernando talked of meeting them in arms; but wiser counsels flashed on his excited brain. Juana was a public idol; Philip and his friends were strangers, and in Spain a stranger is a foe. Philip, as a son of penniless Max, was said to be dipping his fingers into Spanish coffers, not for honest purposes of state, but to reward the enemies and rivals of their Queen. This charge was true. The Verres and Chaus, who hungered after Spanish coin, were balanced by a tribe of venal beauties whom the Austrian prince preferred to his enchanting wife. One favourite had been left in Brussels, as the damsel would not go to sea, and shrewd observers fancied that her royal lover would invent excuses to return ere long from Spain. Fernando saw his way to crush both Philip and his consort. Hearing that the Prince was chafed, as Chau took care he should be chafed, by what he heard of public talk, Fernando made the first move in his game by begging Cardinal Ximenes, who had gone to hail his mistress, to prevent a civil war from breaking out, by showing Philip how the question stood between them. Having gained an audience of the Prince, Ximenes was to tell him that the nobles of Castille were arming to oppose them both; that Aragonese and Austrian were looked upon as

equal strangers in the land; and that the Constable, Velasco, was resolved to drive them out, to leave Castille to the Castillians, and have Juana as their sole and undisputed Queen. If Philip listened to this tale, Ximenes was to hint that Philip and Fernando ought to meet, and take some steps to baffle those designs. The Cardinal undertook this task, and Philip, who was tiring of his consort, fell into the Cardinal's trap. At Villa Fafila, they were to meet for secret counsel; one, to offer terms against his daughter, and the second, to accept those terms against his wife.

4. That meeting was a curious scene. A small white church was burning in the summer sun, amid the reek and squalor of a Spanish hamlet, when a troop of horse came dashing in; a troop of German horse, commanded by a member of the Golden Fleece, enclosing Philip in their ranks. To them crept in a train of donkeys, with some monks and servants, in the front of whom Fernando ambled on an ass. Each group drew near the church, at which the Kings alighted, kissed each other, and, the door being open, slipt into the church. They entered it alone and stayed in it alone. The door was left ajar, and those who stood outside could see, and even hear, though not to catch the sense of what was said. Fernando talked the most, and in a deep, sepulchral tone, while Philip mused in thought, and seemed uneasy and perplexed in face. Their speech

was long, and sometimes angry; but it seemed at length to take a happy turn. A gospel lay before them on the table—the Communion table—and the two Kings laid their lips on it, and seemed to make a solemn oath. Some pens were used, some papers were exchanged, and then the Kings came out into the summer sun. They kissed each other tenderly, and mounting, rode away; the old man on his donkey, and the young on his war-horse. Villa Fafila, the hamlet with the small white church, was left alone, as yet unconscious that the visitors had touched it with a magic wand.

5. Returning to the house in which he lodged near by, Fernando told his secretary an amazing tale. In riding on the road without his guard, he said he had fallen into the hands of Philip, at the head of a great army, and had been compelled by force to sign two treaties of a nature so abominable, that he loathed to speak of them. The Archduke, he went on, had stripped the Queen, his partner, of her crown. He had assumed the regal power. Supported by an army, he had made him a prisoner, and compelled him out of bodily fear to sign a treaty which would rob Juana of her lawful rights. It was a monstrous injury, and one no father could forgive. But worse was yet to come. Not satisfied with having got one treaty from him, Philip had insisted on a second; binding him, in case Juana and the nobles of Castille should protest against her depo-

sition, to assist her Austrian husband in suppressing them by force of arms. The Archduke-King, he said, had made him touch the holy cross and swear, had made him kiss the holy book and swear; but he would never keep those oaths against the Queen, his daughter, and the legal heiress of Castille. He had succumbed to personal fear; but having got away from Philip, he commanded Almazan to draw and lodge a protest in his name against these monstrous acts. At present he could do no more. All power was gone from him, and Philip was the reigning king, but ere he left Castille, a broken man, he wished to put his wrongs on record. He protested heartily against the treaties he had been compelled to sign.

6. Lodging this protest with his secretary for future use, Fernando bade adieu to his dear children, as he called them; begging them to love each other, and to live together in the bonds of peace, as every husband and his wife should live. For himself, he should depart into a foreign land. If he were near them, they might think of him too much. It would be better for a time, while they were young in power, that seas should roll between them. He would go to Naples, as a proof that he had given up every thought of interfering with the government in Castille. But ere he sailed he sent a confidential servant, Mosen Ferrer, to Burgos, where the King and Queen were feasting, with a note to Philip, and

instructions to be always near his royal court. Fernando sailed for Italy, where he was to meet his ally and wife's relation, Louis the Twelfth; Mosen Ferrer rode to Burgos, where he was to see his son-in-law, Philip the Fair. One week after Ferrer's arrival, Philip was a corpse.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SPANISH SISTERS.

1507.

1. A YOUNG and lovely widow, with a kingdom for a dower, Juana was ere long besought by many suitors, some of whom desired her for her beauty, and were deaf to all that was being said against her. Others only feigned proposals as a cover for intrigues elsewhere. In which of these two classes stood the English King? A broken man, with wasted body, hectic cough, and eyes bent down, his thoughts were turning to the day when his high seat would miss him; when his son would have to stand alone, an inexperienced boy, in a distracted state. The King desired to feel that Henry would succeed in peace, and as the ports from which all serious danger came were those of France, sound policy compelled him to protect his son by family ties in Paris. Marguerite d'Angoulême was the woman of his choice, but he was hampered by the contract he had signed with Spain. Fernando held him to his bond. To raise new questions seemed the only chance of putting an evil day.

2. Suppose the Council were to make proposals

for a match between Juana, now a widow, and the King? By such an offer, time would certainly be gained. The King might be induced to let them try. An artist, he was fond of physical beauty. When, in recent days, he had been pressed to think of such or such a lady, his advisers had procured a special study of that lady's charms; the colour of her eyes and hair, the graces of her person, and the perfume of her breath. Whatever else she was, a bride suggested to their master must be fair of face. Juana was a Queen of Beauty; he had seen her for himself; and he could judge between the evidence of his senses, and the rumours which were brought to them from Spain. Fernando, who was still in Italy, was not a man to answer them in haste. He would be sure to feel his way on many sides, and put them off till he was back in Spain. In one sense such an offer might appear to suit him well; for Henry had been treating for a match with Philip's sister, and a transfer of his suit to Philip's widow would provoke the rage of Max. In Germany every one was saying that Philip had been poisoned by Fernando's orders; war was likely to ensue; and it was well to have an ally in his fight with the Imperial house. Yet, though the King might take his time, he would be sure to end by a rejection of the English suit. Fernando had not schemed in order to establish such a man as Henry in the office of King-consort of Castille.

3. Catharine offered Henry the assistance of her

pen. This office was a strange one; for the woman whom she courted was her sister, and the man for whom she courted was her father-in-law. Fernando answered her from Naples in his smoothest vein. Catharine was to whisper hope; but she was not to give a promise in Juana's name. She was to tell the King and Council that her father was delighted with these offers on the part of Henry, but that nothing could be done in the affair till he arrived in Spain. Juana was a curious lady; and moreover she was thought to have an eye on some one else. No human being but her father would be able to prevail with her. As soon as he arrived in Spain, an English envoy might come over to discuss the terms. Fernando turned to what concerned herself. She was to study how to please the King, and win the love of Henry Prince of Wales. He promised that her dowry should be paid. It was, he said, no fault of his, but of her old friend Philip that this money had been kept in hand so long. When he arrived in Spain the hundred thousand crowns should all be paid, and then her standing at the English court would be improved. Being more than ever false he wrote with more than usual warmth: 'As soon as I arrive in Spain, I shall provide with God's best help that your dowry shall be sent to England; for you are not only my own daughter, but I hold your person in the highest estimation, and I wish to see you in a place of honour, and in perfect comfort. I shall set to work for you as

earnestly as for the salvation of my soul.' He told her she must strive by every artifice in a woman's power to gain support, so that the King might see, by words, by signs, by facts, that his best chance of keeping the succession in his family was in letting her have the Prince of Wales.

4. On his arrival in Castille, Fernando seized the reins as Regent, with Ximenes as his President of the Council. From that moment, law was overthrown. The soldier and the monk were masters of the whole of Spain. Juana was a prisoner—partly to her father, partly to the Church—in a deserted castle in the town of Tordesillas, standing on the dreary Leon steppe. She lay in charge of Mosen Ferrer, that ill-omened servant of the King. The corpse of Philip had been placed at Santa Clara, a convent in the neighbourhood; but rumours had been spread about the courts of Europe, that Juana, wandering in her intellect, kept the body of her husband in her room. It was reported also that the poor demented lady forced the nobles of her realm to pay that corpse the service they had paid to Philip when alive. These tales were utterly untrue. Juana was a prisoner in the town. No nobles were allowed to wait on her; no citizens were allowed to see her. The convent of Santa Clara lay some distance off. She never thought her husband was alive; and though she went to Santa Clara as a holy place, she never asked to see the vault in which his ashes lay. Yet this dramatic

fable served her father's ends. What foreign people would desire their King to court a woman who was represented to their minds as buried in a living grave and chattering to a corpse?

5. When they had gained their object, Time, the English council were content to let this question of Juana drop. The King was failing fast. A second marriage was a thing outside his thoughts. Their course was free. Fernando had not met their views; the courts had parted company; and everything between them was at an end. The language used by Henry was extremely frank. To Puebla, who affected to believe the match could be revived on payment of the hundred thousand scudos, and appealed to him for time in which to pay them, he replied that they might take their own—his offer was withdrawn. When he was asked to recollect the great amount of Catharine's dowry, he remarked that ladies with far larger fortunes had been offered to his son. To Catharine he exposed his mind in words which struck her like a shot. He told her plainly that the treaty with his son was broken off, and that in future she was not to call herself Princess of Wales. The girl was stunned. Whatever had been thought by others, she had always deemed herself the future Queen. If things were wrong in her affairs, she fancied that the Pope could set them right. Amazed by Henry's speech, she sent for Puebla, and desired him, as a learned man, to tell her if the King were free to

break his treaty. Puebla shook his head; he feared the King was free. She turned to Fray Diego, her confessor, and Diego told her much the same. The King, her father, said this holy man, had never paid her dowry, and, her dowry being unpaid, the other side were free. She also learned, that as the Prince was under age, the promise given to her at Salisbury Court was not his own. Of any promise that the Prince had given in his minority, neither law nor gospel took account. Distracted by these bitter words, she poured a flood of agony at her father's feet; imploring him to set things right, to send a new ambassador, to pay the money he had held so long, and put an end to her disgrace. She even offered, in her misery, to desert the cause of Queen Juana; nay, she actually implored her father to usurp the Kingdom of Castille. 'It will be better for us both,' she said, 'you will be stronger there, and abler to assist me here.' At heart, she thought that Puebla was a fool, that her confessor was mistaken, that the King of England cared for nothing but his pelf, and that the scruples of his prelates might be swept away by twenty lines from Rome.

6. Yet galling as her situation was in London, Catharine would not hear a word of going back to Spain. For good and evil, England was her home. Juana was a warning to the lonely woman, who enjoyed some freedom in her palace on the Thames, while her unhappy sister pined in a deserted castle on the Leon steppe. Although avoided by the

Prince, abandoned by the council, and rejected by the King, she would remain, to use her own expression, even 'if she were to die for it.' No force on earth could make her go to Spain. Yet to remain in London, with her debts and duns, her joyless life, her disused title and disputed rank, was neither dignified nor safe. She told her father something of the truth. With shame she had to say that she had either pawned or sold the best part of her silver plate. 'I let my servants walk about in rags,' she wrote: 'I cannot do the same myself; and having no other resource left me, I am obliged to live on what I have. Your highness knows my state. How then am I to read your order not to part with any of my plate because it is a portion of my dowry?' She besought her father to recall his envoy, Puebla; sending Don Guter in his place. She got her medico, Johannes, to tell her father that even if she were well in body, she was sick to death in mind; that her disorder was beyond a doctor's reach; and that her only hope was in the kindness of his royal and paternal heart.

7. One thing Fernando saw that he must do. If Catharine was to stay at Durham House, he must invest her with a fixed position at the English court. Since she had been repudiated by the Prince, rejected by the Council, and deserted by the King, her situation had become too much like that of her cousin, the Señora Excellenta, in the convent of Coimbra. To give her a position in the English

court, he sent her formal letters as ambassadress; letters which would entitle her to ask an audience of the King when she had anything to say. He also sent two thousand crowns in silver coin. It was a fall; but if she could not go to court as the Princess of Wales, she must appear as an ambassadress of Spain. She took her jewels out of pawn, and having dressed herself in fitting costume, sought an audience of the King, and asked him plainly how she stood. He told her, no less plainly, there was nothing binding in her contract with the Prince, and that her father knew and had confessed as much. A flush came into Catharine's face. She would not bear, she said, to hear such words. Nothing in her contract with the Prince! A treaty had been made; the King had signed it; nay, her father, she was certain, held to it; and what was said of him was manifestly false! The King assayed to calm her. Yes, he answered, it was curious that Fernando should have said so much; yet what he had confessed was true. His son was free. Nothing whatever had been done to hinder him from marrying anybody in the world. She could not comprehend him, she replied, nor would she take his words to mean in sense what they appeared to mean in sound. Those words, she said, were hardly worthy of his grace, and in her pride and misery she rushed away.

CHAPTER IX.

HENRY TUDOR.

1508-9.

1. In writing to her father, Catharine hinted that the King of England might even yet be brought to let her marriage stand, if he could have Juana and her kingdom for himself. 'I bait him with the match,' she said, 'as I have written to your Highness, and his words and promises have begun to change.' Convinced that Puebla was against her, she believed that he was moved by motives of the basest kind. 'They fancy I have no more in me than appears in outward look and speech. They think I cannot fathom Puebla's depth. I dissimulate with him. I praise him, even when he is doing his worst to injure me. I used to treat him otherwise, but only hurt myself. The best plan is to cheat him.' To Juana, also, she addressed a passionate epistle, begging her to accept the English King in order that she, her sister, might be happy with the Prince of Wales. 'I entreat you,' she concluded, 'to forgive my writing to you on so great a matter. God knows how strong my wishes are. I am not able to resist. It seems to me, that not to

do this thing will be a sin—a sin against God, against the King our father, and against your grace, whose kingdom may our Lord defend and increase.'

2. The Prince of Wales was handsome, and the Princess Catharine was in love. 'There is no finer youth,' said Puebla, 'in the world; he is already taller than his father, and his limbs are of gigantic size.' He was so huge a fellow that a few years' difference in their ages is not noticed. Having taken the affair in hand, Catharine went on to court Juana for a man who was already busy with his will, his works of mercy, and his tomb. She hinted to Juana that the King had fallen in love with her at Windsor, while her husband Philip was alive. 'If he had acted as he secretly desired,' she told her sister, 'he would have kept you here; but since he is a very passionate being, it was thought better for his council to beseech him not to interfere with man and wife; on which account, and for other secret reasons—of which I was well aware—he hid the feelings stirred in him by your departure, though the parting weighed upon his heart. The love which he has felt, and feels for you, is known to everybody here.'

3. Fernando, hearing that the King was sinking fast, was willing to await the end. In his replies, he said his heart was touched by Henry's offers to espouse his suffering child. If she should be inclined to wed a second time, and his consent were to be asked, he would engage his uttermost love,

goodwill, and energy to promote the English suit. But she must not be pressed too soon. Juana, he went on, still kept the body of her husband in her sight. Her moods were strange, and they must wait upon her state of mind. They dared not question and excite her. Philip had been dead a year, he said, yet she imagined he was dozing, and would soon awake. She paid him compliments, and made her servants treat him as a king. Until his corpse was buried, they could hardly speak to her of love. Yet Henry might be sure that when Juana married, she should have no second husband but himself. All this Fernando said, and having done so much, he had a right to say that love so true as his might seek some love in answer. Had the King, his brother, used him well in mating Lady Mary with Don Carlos by a secret treaty with the Archduke Philip and the Emperor Max? Don Carlos was his grandson, and the heir to all his crowns. The marriage of that heir was now his chief concern in life. No contract of the Prince was valid, save with his assent and that of his estates. If Henry wished his daughter Mary to be Empress he must work in friendship with the King of Spain. One way to please him, he concluded, was to let the match go on. Fernando was prepared to make two offers on behalf of Catharine. Let the King of England give his son to Catharine, and on his side he would give his grandson to Lady Mary, and promote with all good speed a union of Juana and the English King.

4. Don Guter came to England, and replaced the cripple at the English court. Don Guter, who had lived in London, was to press with all his might, but in a stately, open way, for a renewal of the contract, now that Henry, Prince of Wales, was come of age. Whatever subject should be broached, he was to say it turned on Catharine's nuptials. If the English wanted peace with Spain, the Prince must marry Catharine; if they wanted Lady Mary to be Empress, he must marry Catharine; if they wanted Queen Juana and her kingdoms, he must marry Catharine. Yet Don Guter was to be discreet, and not to pledge himself too far. 'The Queen Juana's hand must not be promised, yet his Highness must be fed with hope.' Fernando told his envoy he had heard the King was nigh to death, and that his foremost duty was to please the Prince of Wales.

5. The King, in truth, was nigh to death. Since he had passed his year of mourning, he had never been at rest. The cares of empire weighed upon his heart, and in his saddest hours he had been forced to think of other wives. His council and his people had been urging him to marry, since the prospects of his kingdom seemed to hang upon a single life. A galaxy of lovely women had been offered to his choice: Louise de Savoie, Giovanna of Naples, Marguerite of Austria, Juana of Castille, and even Marguerite of Angoulême—yet he had put them all aside. His heart was in the Abbey where the mother of his children slept. His thoughts were running on the

final change. The training and the settlement of his children occupied his time. One daughter, Margaret, married to the King of Scots, gave promise, in the accidents of nature, of a union of the two great island crowns. A second daughter, Mary, pledged to Don Carlos, grandson of the Emperor, would be Queen of all Fernando's states. He needed nothing more from Spain. If worldly science were to govern hearts, his son and heir would seek a wife in France. That son was in his eighteenth year; a youth more likely to consult his passions than the wisdom of the world.

6. The royal chapel, where his consort lay, was growing into beauty under Abbot Islip's care. Of late, he had been working for the change in a yet nobler mood of thought; a mood too often crossed and chafed by baser business of the world. His soul seemed bent on deeds of mercy, love, and peace. Not waiting for the last sad hours of life, when virtue mostly comes too late, he gave himself the time for grace. Two years before he died, and while his health was good, he sent his agents into jail and compter to unearth all debtors who were held in misery for the sum of forty shillings or some smaller debt. Such prisoners were not rogues and bankrupts, who had cheated right and left, but luckless creatures who had stumbled in the fight of life. The King discharged their debts, and set a crowd of captives free. One year before he died, he signed a general pardon for offences; an unusual

grant for dying kings to make. Nor was he satisfied with a grant that emptied jails in every county of the land. A thrifty prince, who paid his way, and kept his coffers full, the King had liked to have his taxes raised; and his collectors had been often tempted to employ the readiest means of raising them. Much injury had been done by suits of law; the more so, as the judges thought their duty lay in siding with the King's collector rather than with his objecting tenant. But the time had come for him to temper policy with mercy. He was rich. His country was at peace. No pressing need compelled him to be harsh. He heard that some of his too zealous officers had pressed too heavily on certain persons. In his will and testament, he ordered full inquiry to be made into these grievances. All those who had been wrongly mulcted, were to have their fines repaid. All those who had been injured, were to have redress.

7. The will of Henry Tudor was a pious and a princely document, containing many noble thoughts, and touching many gracious things. This man of steadfast purpose, who had closed the reign of civil warfare, who had cooled the rage of faction, who had reconciled the principality, who had established English rule in Ireland, and proposed the basis of a future union with the Scots, gave many of his latest hours on earth to pondering on the details of his hospital. As he approached his end, the dreamy and ideal aspect of his character came out into the perfect light. He

was a pilgrim knight, devoting time and strength to works of mercy. Six of the seven Works of Mercy lay within his reach. To tend the sick, to feed the hungry, to relieve the thirsty, to clothe the naked, to lodge the poor, to bury the dead, were deeds which might be done in his great hospital of the Savoy. So, with liberal hand, he gave the necessary funds. Ten thousand marks were left to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's to carry out his plans. Five hundred marks in land were set apart. Two hundred beds were to be provided for the poor and sick; a decent, though not costly, chapel was to be prepared for these poor people; but the works of mercy were to be considered first. 'As there are few or none of such common hospitals in our realm, and for lack of such infinite multitudes of poor people die daily,' said the King in his last will, 'we therefore, of our great pity and compassion, direct you to erect, build, and establish a common hospital.' A few weeks after he had signed this testament, the strong hand dropped, the tender heart grew still, and what remained of Henry Tudor was carried to the chapel he had built, and laid beside the woman who had shared the glory and the burden of his life.

Book the Twelfth.

CATHARINE CROWNED.

CHAPTER I.

FERNANDO.

1509.

1. While the remains of Henry of Richmond were being laid in the royal chapel, near the woman he had loved in life and mourned in death, Fernando of Aragon was fretting with his second wife, the light and winsome Navarrese, in those grim chambers of Valladolid in which he had deceived his former consort, Isabel the Catholic, into her dubious marriage by a spurious papal bull. Six leagues across the steppe, his daughter, Queen Juana, lay at Tordesillas, guarded like a criminal of state. The monks supported him; the troops supported him; yet he was anxious and foreboding in his mood. His strength was failing; he was fifty-seven years old; and had outlived his earlier friends and foes. In that

age kings were old at fifty-seven, and few survived to sixty years. Edward the Fourth had died at the age of forty-two; Henry the Seventh at fifty-two; Charles the Eighth at twenty-eight; Louis the Twelfth at fifty-two; and Philip the First at twenty-eight. Among the active princes of his time, one only, Kaiser Max, attained the age of sixty years. Fernando was approaching the extreme. Since he had signed himself a King, as partner of his first wife, Isabel, four sovereigns had reigned in Navarre, three in Portugal, four in Naples, four in England, two in Germany, four in Poland, three in Sweden, two in Russia, three in France. He was the oldest reigning Prince.

2. Yet he was not surrounded, as an old man should be, by the harvest of his years and fame. His nobles were estranged; his towns were noisy and morose; his capital was turbulent. On every side, his people had to be restrained by either secular or spiritual arms. A board of bishops ruled the country, and a dozen boards of inquisitors ruled the towns. A Bishop of Cordova was his President of the Council, but above this bishop sat the monk Diego, Grand Inquisitor of Spain, now made his personal confessor and his spiritual guide. Ayora, with a foreign guard, were at his gates, and the three military orders were at his command. No man of high repute possessed the royal confidence. Velasco was in sullen mood. Tendilla kept aloof from court. Najara had been injured past forgiveness. Juan

Manuel was a fugitive. Villena and Medina Cœli were in open feud. Ximenes had retired to Cartagena, where, in bitterness of spirit, he was entering on his famous raid against the Moors of Africa. Gonsalvo, now recalled from Naples, was an object of suspicion and distrust. On coming back from Naples, he had been promised the Grand Mastership of Santiago, but Fernando dared not place this powerful order in Gonsalvo's hands. The Great Captain, therefore, had retired from court, and taking up his home among the men of Loja and Granada, spent his time in cultivating his estate and shielding the Moriscoes, who were numerous in the Vega, from the savage zeal of Fray Diego's familiars. Gonsalvo had no sympathy with inquisitors. Don Pedro de Cordova, his nephew, led a mutiny against them, and had suffered in the liberal cause. Nor had the Great Captain any sympathy with the factions which had overthrown his Queen. Fernando, in his greatness, felt himself alone.

3. When Max and Louis, following up the conference of Hagenau, had signed the Treaty of Cambrai, Fernando had been got to join it as the stronger side. But he was fevered and uneasy as to what his colleagues in the treaty were about. France was contending for the lion's share of spoil. If Venice should be stript of her possessions on the Continent, Louis and Max had more to gain than he. Louis was descending in his strength on north-

ern Italy. The balance was again destroyed; and if he had to fight again, he had no more Gonsalvos in the south.

4. Cesare Borgia had escaped from his confinement in the Castle on the Mount. Some patriots of Castille, who saw a friend in every enemy of their Regent, helped him to a length of rope. The Count de Benevente lent him horses; and the captive, dropping by his rope into the ditch, and clambering up the scarp, where Benevente's horses were in waiting, sped across the steppe, and carried his intriguing genius to Pamplona, where his brother-in-law, the King, had welcomed him with open arms. Soon afterwards he had lost his life before the fortress of Viana; but not until his presence in Navarre had sown the seeds of more abiding bitterness against the King of Spain. Juan Manuel's presence at the court of Max was adding to the jealousy which had already separated the contracting courts. Since Philip's death Fernando's intercourse with Max had been unfriendly. Max, as the paternal grandsire of Don Carlos, had assumed the chief direction of his education. As the boy had equal rights in Flanders, Germany, and Spain, the Emperor had thought his grandson's policy should be directed by a single mind. That single mind must be his own: he being the King of Kings; wherefore, on Philip's death, he had required Fernando to resign to him the government of Castille. It had become a question with Fernando whether he was gaining

much by shutting up the Queen, his daughter, in a dreary castle on the Leon steppe.

5. One gleam of joy had flashed upon his heart. His queen, Germaine, of whom he was extremely jealous, bore to him an infant prince; a second Juan, to inherit Aragon and Sicily, and to dispute possession of Granada, Naples, and the Indies. This division of his country was the wreck and waste of thirty years of toil. The dream of a united monarchy was gone. Two hostile kingdoms would contend in future as they had contended in the past; and civil war might ravage every province from Gibraltar to the Pyrenees. Fernando gloated in his anger over all this coming waste. In half her realm, Juana and her son, Don Carlos, were uncrowned by the appearance of this boy. In Aragon and Sicily her son would have no rights, and Max's claims to interfere would henceforth have no scope beyond Castille. But once again the curse descended on Fernando's head. Within a few hours of his birth the royal infant passed away.

6. His death had forced Fernando to arrange his quarrels with the English court. Don Guter had been ill received, and on that envoy using haughty words, the King had told him that his treaty was no longer binding on the Prince of Wales, and that he had no more to say. Don Guter need not come to him again. On hearing this bad news, Fernando, who supposed his envoy was a fool, had talked of sending out a better man. But he had tried all sorts

of men—duke, beggar, monk, and knight—yet every one in turn had failed. At length he had tried another course by sending out the hundred thousand crowns. Yet, when his envoy went to Henry with the money, Henry had refused to take it, saying the day of payment had expired. The English council had announced that they were free. If they were free, the Spaniard had replied, they might begin afresh. On what terms would they treat? The council had suggested terms which no one could have granted:—first, that the marriage of Don Carlos with Lady Mary should be ratified by Fernando and Juana; second, that the whole marriage-portion of Catharine should be paid in coin, her plate and jewels not being reckoned as a portion of the dowry; third, that King Fernando, Queen Juana, and the Princess Catharine, should each and all renounce their right to ask, in any case, for any portion of the dowry back. 'Then it is clear to me,' the King of Aragon had said, 'that Henry thinks he can do what he likes, and ask what he likes, because he holds the Princess in his power. Concession only raises new demands. The King has no desire to let the thing go on.' Yet he was forced to try what could be done. Consulting with his trusty servants he agreed to yield on every point but one, the marriage of Don Carlos. Money might be paid; his plate and jewels might be lost; these sacrifices would but drain his coffers; but the marriage of Don Carlos with an English Princess would invite the King of England

to a daily interference in his realm. To such a match he never would submit. Another envoy should be sent; an envoy who could be discreet and close, while seeming to be free and frank. This envoy was to say that he had come to London to cement the friendship of two powerful kings, and see the nuptials of Infanta Catharine and the Prince of Wales performed. If Henry spoke about his three demands, he was to say the dowry should be paid in coin, that Catharine had authority to use her portion as she liked. If this were not enough, he was to add that King Fernando and Queen Juana would renounce the dowry. Were he asked about Don Carlos, he must see the King in private, and must tell him, as a secret, that his master had made a solemn vow never to speak about a match for Carlos till his daughter Catharine had been married to the Prince of Wales. If Henry were to hint that he might get a dispensation from this vow, the envoy was to say the King his master had made a second vow never to ask a dispensation from the first. But then he was to whisper, not as from the King of Spain, but only from himself, that his master had not set himself against the match of Lady Mary and Don Carlos. Nay, he was to say that since that match had been concluded by the Emperor, by the Archduchess Marguerite, and by the Council of Flanders, who had the young prince in keeping, there could be no doubt of Fernando and Juana ratifying it as soon as Catharine had been married to the Prince of Wales. The

envoy was to take with him an aged and experienced confessor of the order of St. Francis. More of all, he was to carry out credentials to the Prince of Wales, with whom he was to find an opportunity of speaking soon. Much that could not well be put in writing was to be explained by word of mouth; and what the envoy was to say by word of mouth, is but too evident from what is written down. 'Give the Prince our letters, and tell him that we, Fernando, place our person and our kingdom at his disposal.' He was charged to stir up thoughts of a rebellion in the Prince of Wales!

7. Before this envoy had been ready to set out, the rumour reached Valladolid that the English King was dead. A messenger from Brussels, who had met another messenger on his way to Lyons, told him this great news. But was it true? Fernando hardly dared to hope. No news had come from Durham House, though Guter knew that no intelligence could be sent to Spain so welcome as the news of Henry's death. A fact of such importance would have been despatched, Fernando fancied, in a dozen messages by sea and land. Yet he must act as though the news were true, for he could not afford to lose a day. Italian politics weighed upon his mind; for Louis, who had marched to execute the treaty of Cambrai, was winning province after province, and Fernando saw that he might soon be drawn into another war with France. If so, the balance would be turned by what the young and

inexperienced English King might do. Fernando felt that he must act. To send a new ambassador was to lose some days, perhaps weeks. New powers were therefore sent to Guter, who was told to see the King, to use the sweetest words and choicest arguments, and not to let him rest till he had married Catharine. 'This marriage,' said Fernando to his agent, 'is of highest moment, not to Catharine only, but to me; not on personal grounds only, but on political grounds; since it will secure to me the friendship and alliance of the English Kings.' Guter was to speak of Catharine as the King's wife, to say they were already married, and that no one could dissolve that marriage bond. If Henry acted rightly, nothing he might wish would be refused. The marriage-portion should be paid in coin; repayment of the dower should be renounced; a treaty of alliance should be signed; the match between Don Carlos and Lady Mary should be ratified; a fleet and army should be placed at his disposal; and, in case of need, Fernando would come in person with a powerful army to defend him in his states. Two other and more secret orders were despatched. Guter was to study the more influential counsellors, and see if they could be corrupted like the Verres and Chaus of Ghent. If they were willing to accept his bribes, Don Guter was to offer them sums of money in his master's name. 'Take every means,' Fernando said, 'to bring the marriage to an end; all other business may be left alone till

this is done.' The second secret order was concerned with Catharine's chaplain and confessor. Catharine was sure to listen to her priest in matters which he would describe as things of conscience, and Fernando, knowing what had happened with her old confessor, Padre Alessandro, was uneasy lest another priest might interfere in this affair.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONFESSOR.

1509.

1. Don Guter had come to London with the rank of Orator and Counsellor, an office new to Englishmen, who listened in astonishment to his floods of Latin and his flowers of speech. They heard, they stared, they ran away. Don Guter was a knight of Santiago, as he let the Council know; a man of pomp and words, who had the King's command to raise his voice for Spain. But this high fashion met with no success; for people only laughed at his conceits, and told him that his talk was vain, since Lady Mary and Don Carlos were betrothed by Holy Church, and nothing he could say would touch that match. In going from the palace to the street he was again surprised. In every place Don Guter heard the latest news, and found the people and their priests discussing his affairs. 'The business of this country,' he complained, 'is public from the moment it is opened at the court.' In church he also heard about the match. 'They tell the people from the pulpit that this match is at an end; they lay the blame upon your Highness, saying you have not fulfilled

your promise to their king.' Some good, he thought, might come of having a preacher of their own; a man like Pedro de Ayala, who had now become Bishop of Canaria; yet he feared that things had gone too far for words to mend them. 'Even if we had a better preacher on our side,' he wrote, 'we could never get these people to believe anything save what they have already got into their heads.'

2. Don Guter blamed the council for these failures. No one in the court was true to him; no one would keep his secrets; everything he said was noised abroad. That offer to Juana, he was certain, had been made in order to defeat the match of Catharine with the Prince of Wales. Where lay the cause? He never guessed that the conditions of the case produced these failures. Catharine was unwelcome to the English lords and to the English people. So far he could see and hear. But why was she unpopular? He looked at Durham House, and found the reason there—in her confessor. Fray Diego was, he said, the obstacle to her marriage with the English prince.

3. According to Don Guter, Fray Diego Fernandez was a monk with neither learning, piety, nor parts; a man as light of head and loose of tongue, as he was empty, vain, and proud. No one about the English court could bear him, and the King, Don Guter said, had asked in wonder, how the Princess could employ so vile a knave? But, strange to say, the Princess Catharine was infatuated with the wretch. Diego

was the lord of Durham House. He made and unmade at his will; he put her pages out of place, and turned her women out of doors. The Princess suffered him to rule her with an iron rod. She gave her bonds and sold her trinkets to supply his greed. With Juan de Cuero he was constantly at war, for Cuero was the keeper of her plate, which Fray Diego wished to sell. In fifteen days, with the assent of Catharine, he sold as much of her silver as produced two hundred ducats, which the Princess and her priest had spent in 'follies.' Cuero, he went on, had tried to stop these sales of plate, but Fray Diego bullied him for interfering in a business that was not his own, and the Princess had treated him as though he had been guilty of some heinous crime. To speak against her confessor was, Don Guter said, no less than treason in her eyes.

4. Cuero had begged Don Guter to protect him in his duty. He was under orders from Fernando not to part with Catharine's plate; until the marriage was complete, he could not yield that charge to any one. Don Guter spoke with Catharine; but the case was hardly opened ere he found that Fray Diego had so strong an interest with the Princess that this Knight of Santiago felt no scruple in ascribing it, in letters to the Secretary of State, as springing from illicit love! Diego, who was young and clever, seems to have made the welfare of his penitent —her welfare in the present and the future life—the end of all his toils. The man, no doubt, was fond

of power, and liked to prove it in the teeth of knights and kings; but his offences, in Don Guter's eyes, were those of being too keen of sight, too faithful to his trust. Diego thought of Catharine more than of Fernando, and advised her to consider what was right towards England ere she tried to think of what was best for Spain. A monk like Fray Diego would perceive in such an envoy as Don Guter an enemy in disguise; for Guter's purpose was to force the English people to accept the Princess, not on personal grounds of liking for her, but on public grounds of pledge and counter-pledge. The monk became the envoy's foe, and then the Princess, acting on the monk's advice, refused to see Don Guter any more. When he had told her, in his pompous figures, that she ought to drive away this youth and take into her service some experienced father, who could keep her conscience free and leave her reputation pure, she turned her back on him, refused to see his face again, and prayed her father, in a burst of anguish, to recall him into Spain.

5. Don Guter also wrote to Spain. 'I will not speak of all the things that need correction in her household,' he exclaimed; 'the beginning, middle, and end of these disorders, is the friar. This man is light, scandalous, and haughty in extreme degree. All English persons hate to see such a friar continually in the palace and among the women.' Don Guter sent to Spain a servant of the household who could

tell the King 'a great deal more' than he could write. 'I beg your Highness,' he continued, 'when you have heard the man who brings this letter, that you will order the Princess to reform her household and her life.' He gave an instance of Diego's insolence. Catharine and Mary, who were living near together, in the neighbourhood of Richmond Park, had been invited by the King to join him at the palace, and a troop of lords and ladies had been sent to fetch them. Catharine had been sick the previous night; but she was well again; and at the early mass was noticed for her fresh and healthy look. Yet when she came to mount her jennet, Fray Diego stepped into the yard and cried, 'You shall not go to-day.' The English lords and ladies were amazed. 'But I am well,' the Princess said, 'and do not wish to stay behind.' Her words were vain. 'I tell you,' quoth the monk, 'on pain of mortal sin, you shall not go to-day.' She argued with him, but he would not swerve a jot. 'I wish to go,' she sobbed. 'You shall not go,' he answered. Not to cause him pain she yielded to his words, and sent to Mary, who had waited two hours for her, that she was not well enough to ride. The English lords and ladies rode away; laughing, as Don Guter hinted, at the lie which she had told. For they had seen her, both at chapel and at table, in her customary health. Next day, when she arrived at Richmond Park, in Fray Diego's company, the King refused to speak

with her. Don Guter hinted he could say much more. 'May God forgive me,' he exclaimed; 'but since I have seen so much of the Princess's household, I acquit the King of a great part, a very great part, of the blame which I once laid on him. I do not wonder so much at what he does, as at what he leaves undone.'

6. Fernando had replied in biting terms to Catharine, who returned his bitterness in words of gall. Cuero was audacious, Guter was unjust. Diego was, she said, the best confessor that a royal lady ever had; not only as to doctrine and ability, but in his personal sanctities of life. 'It grieves me,' she continues, 'that I cannot keep him in the way his functions and my rank demand; for he is faithful in his office, and in giving good advice, and offering good example.' Not content with this defence of her confessor, Catharine turned on Guter, and accused him of annoying her and her confessor out of love for one of her women, Francisca de Caceres, whom he had removed from Durham House, and married to a friend without her leave. 'I shall not believe,' she told her father, 'that your Highness looks upon me as your daughter if you do not punish him, and order your ambassador to confine himself to his affairs, and not to meddle in my house.'

7. Fernando was arranging to recall both Fray Diego and Don Guter when the news of Henry's death arrived in Spain. At once the scene was

changed. 'You must not speak a word to the Princess about her confessor,' said Fernando to his envoy, 'unless, indeed, you find him opposed to her marriage with the King.' In that case Fray Diego was to be recalled, as Alessandro had been recalled.

CHAPTER III.

HENRY OF GREENWICH.

1509.

1. In the young King's person and accomplishments, there was much to take a woman's eye, and captivate a woman's heart. If he were not yet eighteen years of age, the time at which a youth is neither boy nor man, the King was an exception to all ordinary rules. Though still a youth, in youth's fresh rosiness and grace, he was a man in stature and in strength; a man who overtopped the tallest of his archers, and who drew a bow that few among these stalwart men could bend. His face was fine, his frame compact. With skin as fair, with eyes as blue, with hair as golden, and with mouth as sweet as Catharine, he resembled her in build and colour, as became the common heirs of John of Gaunt. 'He had a round face,' said the Venetian Pasqualigo, 'so very beautiful that it would have adorned the person of a pretty woman.' But the lad was huge as he was comely. In his length of arm, his width of chest, his swell of calf, a looker-on at butts and bars observed in him a man who had attained the full possession of his

physical powers. In field, in cockpit, and in ring, he found few equals and no masters. If he chased the stag, he wore down seven or eight horses in a morning; if he cast the bar, he pitched it clear above his rival's head; and if he stripped to wrestle, there were few among his guards who liked to tempt his fall. In jousting, which he loved beyond all other sports, he rode down almost every rider, and he shivered almost every lance. A knight so quick of eye and strong of limb as Brandon had to put forth all his skill when riding at the King. When mounted on his stallion, he was perfect in his beauty; not a common mortal, but a paladin, a hero, and a demi-god. Sagudino, one of those shrewd observers whom the Doge sent over to describe the King, reported that when riding on his charger 'he was like St. George himself.'

2. Nor was he less a master of the weapon which was then the pride of every man of English blood; for every man was then an archer, and the hero of a festive gathering was the man who oftenest sped his arrow home. Though guns and muskets were in daily use, the bow retained its ancient fame. The best of archers were the royal guard, yet he could hold a bow against the champion archer of his guard. No pastime pleased him better than to make a match and beat the champions on their chosen ground.

3. In mind he was no less accomplished than in body. All the children of his father had been trained in princely arts; but they had studied many

things which princes seldom learn. His reading had been wide and in some branches deep. Of letters and theology he had a knowledge far beyond the princes of his time. With science he had some success; he understood diseases, and he practised medicine on himself and others. Making roads and building ships were pastimes with him. Not a shipwright in the Royal Navy could instruct him in this difficult art. He had a special genius for constructing bridges. As to lighter studies and attainments he could sing at sight, and play the organ, harpsichord, and lute. He had a knack of weaving verse in words and marrying them to music of his own. Amidst a thousand cares of state he set two services for the royal chapel which are still extant. Italians who approached his court, bear witness to his competency in music, both in science and in practice. Some of his pieces may be still occasionally heard. His anthem for three voices, 'Quam pulchra es, et quam decora,' and his fine ballad, 'Pastance with good company,' rank among the better known. Giustinian, a judge of music, says 'he was extremely skilled in musical art;' and Sagudino, himself a player on the virginals and organ, wrote, after hearing him play and sing, that, in these exercises, 'he acquitted himself divinely.' Pasqualigo heard him sing at sight a service in the royal chapel, which was being conducted by the King himself. These services were described by musical Italians as without a rival in the

world. 'High Mass,' wrote Sagudino, in his letters home, 'was chanted by his Majesty's choristers, whose voices are rather divine than human. They did not chant, so much as sing like angels.'

4. His use of foreign tongues is equally well attested. He had a fair knowledge of Latin and Italian. Among his letters which have been preserved, is a letter in Latin to Erasmus, and there are other letters in French to Francois and Marguerite of Austria. At Tournay, he was called by Marguerite to translate a word to Brandon, whose glibness of tongue was much less striking than his length of arm. Brandon had pulled a ring from the Archduchess's finger and put it on his own. Marguerite, laughing, called him a 'laron;' but as Brandon was no scholar, the King was called by the Archduchess to explain her jest to his handsome, but unlearned knight. On finding Catharine slow in learning English, he made himself master of Castillian. In another generation, such accomplishments were usual; but in the days of Max and Louis they were rare. No ground exists for thinking any of these gifts lay only in the minds of courtiers. Ample proofs remain. The author of the book against Luther, and of many papers on the canonical aspects of marriage, must be allowed a certain knowledge of divinity and canon law. The patron of Holbein, the builder of Nonsuch, the contriver of masques and May-day games, the hero of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, cannot be denied

the finer instincts of an artist. The contriver of the Great Harry might have been a great engineer, if he had not been born to be a great sovereign.

5. In these early days, his moral qualities were in line with his physical beauty and his intellectual range. Indeed his moral qualities, as became a youth who had been trained for service in the Church, were but the outward signs of a devotional life within. Before his marriage, and for many years afterwards, he lived a blameless life. Bright eyes had little power to lead him wrong. For cards, and for the luxuries of the table, he had no immoderate love. Excess of any kind was his aversion, and the vices which arise from either drink or dice were never domiciled in his house. To find a young man pure as he, we have to look into the lives of saints. In 'Pastance with Good Company,' a song of which he is supposed to have made both words and music, he expressed the sentiment of his life,—

Pastance with good company
I love, and shall until I die;
Grudge who will, but none deny,
So God be pleased, this life will I.
For my pastance,
Hunt, sing, and dance,
My heart is set;
All goodly sport
To my comfort,
Who shall me let?

Youth will needs have dalliance,
Of good or ill some pastance;

Company me thinketh the best
All thoughts and fantasies to digest,
For idleness
Is chief mistress
Of vices all;
Then who can say,
But pass the day
Is best of all?

Company with honesty
Is virtue,—and vice to flee;
Company is good or ill,
But every man hath his free will.
The best I sue,
The worst eschew;
My mind shall be,
Virtue to use;
Vice to refuse,
I shall use me.

6. The youthful King's affections were profuse and quick. When he had given his heart, he looked for everything in turn, and meeting with the slightest coldness, he was apt to break into volcanic heats. From the good Queen, his mother, while she lived, and from his grandmother, Margaret of Richmond, afterwards, he was used to tender fondling; and his father, who was not so easily moved, could not refrain from showering his caresses on the handsome and accomplished boy. The courtiers and the clergy watched him with the highest hope; especially the clergy, who accepted the bright promise of his youth as a defence and ornament of Catholic truth. His father had been made Defender of the Faith, and he was therefore

born Defender of the Faith. In Max, in Louis, in Fernando, Churchmen saw three secular princes, who could use religious orders as police, employ the bishops as collectors of rates, and either sack the Vatican or imprison the pontiff with as little scruple as they would feel in burning Oran or enslaving Moors. In Henry they beheld another sort of man; a Catholic, a devotee, and a Crusader of the Cross. Although a man of jousts and games, who sniffed the scent of battle like a charger, he was never missed from chapel during matins, mass, and complines. He was never absent from confession; never hurried in his works of penance; never doubtful of the mystery int he bread and wine. All duties owing by a Catholic towards his Church were paid by him with zeal, from weekly offerings on the altar to unbounded reverence for the Holy See. A wise man, noting Henry in his youth, might well have feared, from his devotional feeling and his education, that if anything should go wrong with him in later life, the evil would arise from some disorder in a conscience too exacting for robust and perfect health.

CHAPTER IV.

A NEW REIGN.

1509.

1. THE new reign opened like a play; with actors, scenes, and fortunes equally untried and strange. A King not eighteen years of age, with untold heaps of coin laid up, and power which he could either wield or drop as pleased him, was not likely to pursue a sober course. A change was soon apparent in the policy abroad and in the government at home; yet nothing took the minds of men so much as what occurred in reference to that foreign lady who had lived so long at Durham House. To her, the change was that of some bright being of the poet's brain; some Helena, some Morgiana, rather than of a thing of flesh and blood; but Helena's promotion in the House of Rossillon was not so high, nor Morgiana's rise in that of Ali Baba so meet. One day she was a stricken and despairing widow, and a few days later an acknowledged and exulting bride.

2. A month before the old King died she stood alone; in debt, in trouble, in despair; and one month after that event, the world was at her feet. The King had ceased to treat her as his daughter; nay,

he had informed her that he was not bound to find her meat and drink. The King had come to think of her as one whom he was feeding out of charity, as he was doing with the Savoy poor. At length, her proud heart straining at her false position, she had hinted that 'it might be well for her to go, and spend the remnant of her days in serving God —the best thing that could happen to her now on earth.' In April, she could only write of tears, of fasting, of a convent cell; in June she was the wife of an adoring youth and powerful King.

3. What sorcery explains this change? The youth who had renounced the contract of alliance was persuaded to fulfil it. He who had been recently described as cold to Catharine, suddenly became her suitor. Councillors who had signed the act repudiating her, became her loyal servants. Men who had denounced the papal bull as insufficient for the purpose ceased their protests. Partizans of a French alliance closed their lips. About the time when her own fancy had been picturing a broken widow passing through the portals of a Spanish convent, to remain in solitude and darkness all her days, like Queen Juana, her unhappy cousin in the cell of Santa Clara, she was seated in a royal chair, beneath the vaulted roof of Westminster Abbey, crowned with a golden rim, and with the beauty, chivalry, and piety of England at her feet. By what high magic had this change been brought about?

4. The sorcery was mixed in kind, as sorcery

must be when success is to be won. From what is known of the young monarch's words, from what is seen in histories of passion, there is reason to believe that he had long regarded Catharine with the craving of a youngster for forbidden things. When he renounced her in the presence of Fox at Richmond Palace, he was only fourteen years of age, a stranger to the power of love, and innocently blind to the exciting light of female eyes. But as he grew in years the memory of that act would stay with him, and his occasional vision of the foreign lady in his father's house would keep her image fresh in mind. The mystery of their separation could not fail to rouse his curiosity. Why should he not prattle with her, play with her on lute and harpsichord, take lessons from her in Castillian? He was learning Spanish; why not learn it from her lips? This parting must have sent his fancies wandering into rosy paths. Nor was her beauty of a nature to be lost on such a boy; a boy who, in his length of limb, his ruddiness of cheek, his purity of life, his love of enterprise and labour, was a type of what was best in English youth. Her lovely eyes, her fair complexion, her abundant hair, and even that breadth of feature which an artist might have called her fault, would seem to him, so sturdy and so vast in bulk, the fitting properties of a royal mate.

5. That Catharine loved the Prince, that she was always trying to be with him, and to please him, he must soon have been aware. No day had passed

since he was fourteen years of age, in which his father had not been compelled to think of him in reference to the girl at Croydon Park. At times, the Prince had heard that if the King of Spain agreed to so and so, the Princess was to be his wife. When he was sixteen years of age, the question of Juana had been raised. Events seemed nigh that would have cleared the ground; and while the messengers were speeding to and fro, the Prince and Princess were allowed to see each other on the footing of a youth and maid who may ere long be man and wife. What boy of sixteen summers could resist the coquetry of a woman six years older than himself? Her woman's wit was daily sharpened by advice from Spain. That, with her love for the great handsome fellow, her repugnance to returning home, and her desire to execute her father's will, she would succeed in firing him, is only what a man acquainted with the subtleties of passion would expect. Before the old King died, she was so certain of her youthful lover, that she told her father she was easy in her mind about the Prince. If the old King should sink, she said, her nuptials might take place at once.

6. While she was waiting through the early days of mourning she received a letter from the King, her father, giving her instructions how to act. He had her marriage more at heart, he said, than any other thing on earth. As he had loved her much, and served her truly, he enjoined her to assist him in securing and completing the English match. Ac-

cording to his note, this marriage was his business, more than it was hers; and he expected help from her in what concerned so much the safety of his crown. Fernando was not sure, like Catharine, of the youthful King. For while his pen was moving on the sheet of paper, news came in from London that the point of conscience had been raised again. The young man was reported to have raised this ominous question in his council—Could he marry with his brother's wife, without being guilty of a mortal sin, and bringing on his realm the curse of God?

CHAPTER V.

CASE OF CONSCIENCE.

1509.

1. FERNANDO kept the fact of such a point being raised a secret from his child, whose peace this Case of Conscience was to touch in after days. He wrote, however, to Don Guter on the subject, urging him to labour with the utmost secresy and prudence in this question, since the marriage might depend on what was done. This match, he told Don Guter, was the greatest thing that he had ever done, or ever could be asked to do. The marriage, he declared, was one of those great acts that must be done at once, since many councillors and princes were opposed to it, and would defeat it if they had a little time. In fact, their project must be carried by surprise. With Catharine he must be extremely guarded; not alarming her by tales of what was being either said or done until the matter was arranged. If Fray Diego showed himself in favour of the marriage, he was not to be disturbed at Durham House, and nothing further must be said to him about the aged and experienced member of the Order of St. Francis. In his conversation with the English council, Guter was to use the utmost

caution; not denying that the Princess had been Arthur's wife; but urging that when Rome had given a dispensation from the penalties of sin, the marriage of a woman with her departed husband's brother was a lawful act.

2. In dealing with a young and pious prince, who was in love, and only wished to see his way, Fernando saw that he might meet this plea of conscience with a counter plea. He, too, could prate of conscience and of sin. The King was bound by sacred ties. He had espoused the Princess openly at Salisbury Court. She bore his name, and was his consort in the eyes of men. Fernando dwelt on the example of his son-in-law, Manoel, who had married two sisters, Doña Isabel and Doña Maria, in succession, each of whom had been the King of Portugal's wife and queen. These marriages had been allowed by Holy Church. Yet fearing that the youth might start on being invited to adopt the 'curse of Portugal,' as an example, he made haste to speak of the felicity enjoyed by Manoel with his second queen. Maria was the mother of a troop of boys and girls—John, Isabel, Beatrix, Luis, and Fernando. Portugal ran no risk of lapsing into civil war for lack of heirs direct. In brief, the articles being signed, the dispensation granted, and the betrothal rites performed, Don Guter was to tell the lover that his contract was complete. The world regarded Catharine as his wife, and should he part from her he would be guilty of a heinous sin.

3. In speaking to the councillors near the King, Don Guter was to use a language more direct. He was to tell these councillors that the contract had been made and signed; and that to break this contract was to enter on a war with Spain. A hint was to be dropt, in season, that a Spanish fleet was ready to set sail, and that a Spanish army stood in readiness to embark. But he was not to trust in arguments and threats alone. A most important part of his commission was to find out who had charge of this affair of conscience. When he got the list of names he was to scan it well, and look at it in every light. If possible, he was to bribe them all. But if he could not bribe them all, he was to find out which of the commissioners would have the leading voice. Of him he must be sure. On finding who would sway the King, he must, at any cost of money, win that councillor over to the side of Spain.

4. The council were divided in opinion, as they always had been; Warham being on one side, Fox on the other side. Warham had hitherto prevailed. But now the question had to be debated from another side; not before a sage and cautious ruler, with his treaties signed and friendships made in every court of Europe, but in hearing of a boy who had been suddenly called to reign. The councillors wanted peace and trade with Spain, for which Fernando had a right to ask his price. They sat beneath a threat of war. They understood that threat to mean invasion of the realm, a further trou-

ble in the border shires, a rising of the Irish septs, and a renewal of the civil strife. The Yorkist faction was not wholly dead, and there was one White Rose at large in Richard de la Pole. This member of the House of York, a soldier of ability, was living in the court of France, where he was held in high esteem. Don Guter's words were strong, and yet the facts were stronger than Don Guter's words.

5. Lay councillors such as Surrey, Daubeney, and Herbert, cared but little for ecclesiastical subtleties. Few among them could pretend to offer an opinion on a point of law. Nor were the earls and barons generally wiser than themselves. This case, they said, was one for lawyers and divines, not men of the world and men of the sword. These sturdy earls and barons, many of whom could hardly read and write, were asked to settle, first, what were the precise limitations of Hebraic law in matters of affinity; next, what parts of that Hebraic law had been adopted into Christian codes; and third, whether any of the limitations laid down by Moses and adopted by the Church, could be suspended by the sovereign Pontiff. These were questions, they affirmed, for Churchmen to decide. Unhappily, the Churchmen differed in their verdicts. Warham said one thing, Fox another thing. How were men like Surrey, Daubeney, and Herbert, to pronounce? If they could take the Pontiff's word about the law, the arguments in favour of proceeding with the match

were very strong. The King was young in years and new in office. Since his father's death all treaties had been swept away, and they had all their friendships yet to make. Spain offered them a good market for wool and cloth, and she supplied the English ports with leather, wine, and oil. She was their chief ally against the French; their only ally should the Scots combine with France. No monarch in the world could do them so much harm as Catharine's father; and the councillors were not left in doubt, that if they sent the Princess home they would enrage their powerful neighbour to the highest pitch.

6. They had, in fact, to study these provisions of the canon law in front of shotted guns. Fernando, while affecting to believe that the young sovereign would do right—that is, that he would marry Catharine and fulfil his bond—took pains to let the world perceive, that if his daughter were refused by Henry, as Marguerite of Austria had been refused by Charles the Eighth, there would be such a war between the crowns as he had waged against the Caliphs; war to the knife, and war beyond the knife. He caused it to be said in London, not in secret and in dubious phrase, but openly and from himself, that if the Princess Catharine were rejected, he would glut his vengeance on the English people, even though the world should perish in their strife. Such threats, from such a prince, were not to be despised by prudent councillors. The man who had dethroned

the Excellenta, slain the Friends of Light, expelled the Jews from Spain, removed King Phœbus and King Philip, trapped Cesare Borgia, and confined his daughter in a prison, was not likely to be scrupulous in his means and sparing in his wrath. Spain was great, and seemed far greater than she was. By her alliances with Austria, Portugal, and Flanders, she appeared to cover Europe with her influence. The New World owned her sway. She was the leading force in Rome.

7. The councillors had also to consider the effect of a refusal on the match of Lady Mary and Don Carlos. That alliance was regarded by their recent master as the crown and glory of his life. Don Carlos would be emperor, not as Max was emperor, without a penny and with hardly an estate, but as the lord, proprietor, and ruler of the world. It was an object of the Tudor King to place a princess of his family on so great a throne; and yet without Fernando's leave, that match could never take effect. Fernando offered his consent, but only on condition that the nuptials of his daughter were completed with the reigning King. On summing up their facts, the case stood thus:—

I. The King must either marry Catharine or prepare for war with Spain.

II. The King must either marry Catharine or prepare for trouble in his Irish lands and in his border shires.

III. The King must either marry Catharine or

prepare to fight a new Pretender in the person of Richard de la Pole.

IV. The King must either marry Catharine or endure to see his sister's marriage with Don Carlos set aside.

V. The King must either marry Catharine or offend the Pontiff and the Roman court.

VI. The King must either marry Catharine or appear to set his personal reading of the law above a judgment of the Universal Church.

8. Among the councillors who had at first opposed the Spanish project, some had been converted by the papal bull. While Rome was silent, they had held that Rome would not pronounce. When Julius laid the Case before his cardinals, they could hardly say the matter was beyond appeal. When they perused the bull, they had submitted their opinions to the Holy See. This was the case with Warham. As a lawyer, he contended that a pontiff could not set aside the law of God; but when the bull was issued, he refrained from further acts of opposition to a project which appeared to have the sanction of his spiritual chief. As he retired, the laymen were invited by his silence to decide the policy of a match with Spain on secular and political grounds. Being pressed, as they conceived, from every side, they tried to think the marriage might be right. With Catharine they were offered peace, secure alliances, and a settled future. If the thing were wrong, it was the Pope's affair. Was it for

men like Surrey and Daubeney to dispute with popes about their apostolical power? What could these gallant swordsmen know of Roman law? If penalties were incurred by Henry in his marriage with the Spanish lady, they supposed the Pope and his confessor could remove the consequences of his guilt. The Pope had spoken. Was he not the highest judge?

CHAPTER VI.

AT GREENWICH.

1509.

1. WHILE priests and councillors were balancing their fears and hopes, the man and woman who were most concerned were secretly arranging the affair; and in a way that no one would have liked, had it been known in time; and yet that every one accepted when the thing was done.

2. The King, whose opening days of royalty were no less full of noble labour than of innocent sport, was loved as only youthful kings are ever loved. On his accession he proclaimed a general pardon for offences. He insisted on the rapid execution of his father's will; attending, even in the depth of his great sorrow, to the building of his hospital and the redress of injuries. In every branch of Government his energy was felt; in the Navy, in the Treasury, in the Chancery, in the Church. It was his genius to remember every one, his fortune to remember everything. At once the various branches of administration felt the impulse of a quickening brain. From policy his father had but rarely shown himself in public; thinking it imprudent in a King

to make himself too cheap. The new king had another mood. His craving was to go everywhere, to see everything, to know everybody. Archers, sailors, monks, prelates, councillors, were to him the same. He liked to bandy jokes, and share in the amusements of his people. Mixing in the cudgel-matches, morris-dances, and archery contests, he would undertake to hold his own in these old pastimes; playing his part on archery-ground and village-green with frankness, courage, and good humour which no mishap could disconcert. He was a thorough English Prince, in whom the youth of England saw themselves as in a glass.

3. In May the King retired to Greenwich, as the house in which his parents had been used to pass their days of mourning. In the palace by the water-edge he had been born, and in the parish church near by had been baptized. The palace had been much enlarged; a front being thrown along the river in that rich red form of architecture which we call the Tudor style. The King delighted in this house, not only as his place of birth, but as a site which fed the famine of his eyes for boats and ships. From tower and terrace he could watch his ships of war and trade sail up and down the Thames; could note their names, their tonnage, and their crews; could scan with a young Viking's eye each quality of their handling and their speed. Catharine was at Greenwich, in her character of ambassadress at his court. But she was more, much more, to him. She was his

bride-elect, with the authority of a woman who was six years older than himself. She made herself the mistress of his house; she took upon herself his cares; she gave her orders to his people with the air of one who was already queen. No thanks to Guter, she was in her place at last, and ready with the smile and word so dear to one cast down by sudden grief. Among the gentlemen of the household she was ceasing to be called Princess of Wales, the title she had borne for many years. In French she was called Infanta of Spain; in English, Princess of Castille. She called herself a Princess of Castille, and in this name she made her offerings in a small Franciscan chapel lying near the palace gate.

4. Adjoining the new front of Greenwich Palace lay a bit of waste land, which the late King had given to Father John Forrest, Father William Peto, and a small body of friars who nursed the sick about his house, and chanted lauds in his private chapel. They were members of the Order of St. Francis, and were called in English Observant Friars, Grey Friars, and Minorites. By their founder's rule these men were sworn to abject poverty and unquestioning obedience. They were to own no house and land; they were to beg their bread and salt; they were to sleep under arches and in doorways; they were to live with the insane, the outcast, and the leper; they were to follow armies on the march, to shrive the dying, and to cover up the dead. Not being

in priest's orders, they had neither the pretensions nor the habits of regular clergy: not being monks, they had no permanent homes, no splendid churches. no exalted rank. Poor Christian brothers, they affected to be humblest of the humble, lowliest of the low. Their founder's rule had not been strictly kept, and least of all in Spain, where Kings and Cardinals had been proud to wear their frocks and build them homes. In England, where the rule had been more strictly held, the weaker sort had come to live in houses, to collect libraries, and even to accept of lands and money. The more godly and ascetic of the order had not ceased to raise their cries against these innovations. Yet, even after some of the Franciscan friars had been debased by wealth and learning, they were still the unpaid nurses of the sick, the unsought teachers of the poor. They understood diseases, and they cultivated herbs and plants. They did a work which no one else would undertake. An order with the rule to work, and with the spirit to refuse all payment for their work, had suited the late King, who, finding these poor fathers cheap and useful friends, had given them leave to build their cells beneath his palace wall.

5. Catharine was a sister of this order, and the friars were bound to her by many ties. At Greenwich they had five small houses which were dedicated to the Virgin, to St. Francis, and to other saints. The sovereign now no more had left five hundred

marks to keep those houses in repair. As soon as Catharine came to Greenwich, John Heron, Treasurer of the Chamber, paid these marks to Father Forrest, Father Peto, and the rest. She went to mass in the little chapel used by Father Forrest and the friars, instead of to the parish church. These friars were her earliest English friends, and were in after days to be the zealous partners of her fortune and her fall.

6. On Monday, the eleventh of June, these humble brethren of St. Francis saw a rite performed that was to agitate the Christian world. That morning Henry, King of England, stole, with Catharine, Princess of Castille, into their tiny chapel near the palace wall, and asked the priest to make them man and wife. Who stood beside the altar—who gave away the bride—who witnessed the rite—who blessed the union—we are nowhere told. It was a secret act that made the King and Princess man and wife. One person only, other than the friars, is named as present; Gonsalvo de Puebla, son of the late ambassador from Spain. No member of the council knew that such a rite was being performed that day. No bishop gave his blessing, and no chancellor signed the register. No page, no gentleman of the household, came with King and Princess to that modest shrine. The bearer of the privy purse was absent. If Father Forrest tied the knot, he never told the tale; nor is there any record in the volumes of his Order of the great and ominous

deed then done. Yet on that summer day, the festival of St. Barnabas, the King cut short all further wrangles in his council and his capital, by leading Catharine to this private altar, and by making her his wife and queen.

CHAPTER VII.

WIFE AND QUEEN.

1509.

1. Six days elapsed ere any one outside the small Franciscan convent heard this startling news. A longer time elapsed before the world outside the convent and the palace heard it. Six days after that festival of St. Barnabas, John Heron, bearer of the privy purse, was told to place two extra offerings on the altar of that small Franciscan chapel. He was in attendance at the Sunday mass, and after putting down his customary noble, he was told to add a marriage present from the King and Queen. He laid ten shillings down for each, and booked his payments for the bridal day. Two days later, William Pole was named King's serjeant, with the special duty of attending on the Queen. Pole had been usher of the chamber to her Grace of Richmond, and was of a family connected with the royal house. Two other days elapsed before the news was known in Cheape and by the water-side.

2. But though the rite were done in secret, and the thing had all the seeming of a runaway match,

some legal measures had been taken in the previous week. Four days at least before his wedding-day the King had nerved himself to put an end to all disputes by taking Catharine for his wife. On Thursday he had got the Princess, who was staying in the palace, to renounce her dowry of two hundred thousand crowns. On Saturday, they had received from Guter the originals of two renunciations of the dowry; one by Fernando, in his quality as King of Aragon; the other by Juana, in her quality as Queen of Castille. On Sunday, Henry had made a grant to Catharine, Princess of Castille, of lands and rents in more than thirty English shires. This present had required the chancellor's seal to make it safe. A messenger had therefore gone to Lambeth Palace with the parchments, and a royal warrant for the chancellor to stamp them with the seal. This warrant mentioned that the grants were made to Catharine 'on her coming marriage with the King.' On Sunday night at latest, Warham must have known what Henry was about to do, and while he held his own opinion on the legal point, he yielded as a statesman to the thing he could no longer help.

3. A few days later, it was known to every one in London that the young and jovial King had put an end to all debates by taking Catharine as his wife. It was a vast surprise. Although the coronation-day was near at hand, no orders had been issued for the crowning of a Queen. But every-

thing about the youthful King was like a romance. Orders came at length from Greenwich, and the Abbey was arrayed in gold and crimson, for a sight to make men wonder. On the day before his coronation, Henry brought his bride by water to the Tower, in which it was supposed that every English sovereign ought to sleep on such a night. The Duke of Buckingham was made High Constable; the Earl of Surrey was appointed Marshal. Warham, Chancellor and Primate, was to hear his royal oath, and set the crown upon his regal head. Though young, the King was master in his house. A change, suggesting much that was to come in after days, was introduced by him, no doubt with the assent of Warham, as his chancellor, into the coronation oath. The older form of oath had bound the King to guard 'the rights and liberties of Holy Church, of old time granted by the righteous Christian Kings of England.' Henry changed this form of oath. He only swore that he would 'keep and maintain the lawful rights, and the liberties of old time granted . . . . to the Church of England.' Even these concessions to the Church were qualified by the condition that her lawful rights and liberties should not be 'prejudicial' to his crown and dignity. His father would have shrunk from such a change of phrase; but he was not the sovereign of a party like his father; and although his reverence for the Pope was great, he had no need to lean with undue weight on Rome. Nor would

the King, his father, have described the Church in England as the Church of England. Henry of Richmond lived and died a Catholic; the follower of a faith which had one centre and one head. A National Church would have appeared to him a monstrous and heretical growth.

4. The long debates in council, and the frequent change of envoys out of Spain, had been no secrets in the tavern and the workshop. Nothing could be kept from people's ears, and every prentice lad in London was aware that Catharine had been offered and refused. The Case of Conscience, the Appeal to Rome, the coming of a papal bull, the contract, the betrothal, the repudiation, and the threat of war, had all been canvassed in the streets. Among the King's advisers fears were entertained lest doubts should linger in the public mind about the lawfulness of this clandestine marriage. Warham's view was known, and shared by many citizens, that if the Spanish lady were Prince Arthur's widow, she could never be King Henry's lawful wife. A doubt on such a point might raise up tempests in the future. To remove that doubt was not an easy thing; but what the King and Queen could do was done. The Articles which told the truth were kept from public sight. The papal bull, which told some portion of the truth, was also kept from public sight. No statement could be safely made in words; yet something might be done to satisfy the public through their eyes. The Queen put off her

widow's weeds, and issued from the Tower a virgin bride. Her dress, her maids, her followers, and her horses, were of maiden white. A robe of white embroidered satin clothed her form. Her long and rippling hair hung down her back, as was the way adopted when a virgin married. White palfreys drew her litter, and the ladies of her train wore silver cloth. Six riders followed on white horses. Priests with silver crosses met her in the streets, and clerks with silver censers waved a perfume in her face. A band of virgins stood at the Exchange to greet her. They were dressed in white, and bore white tapers in their hands. A company of gentlemen were formed, who took the name of Minerva's Scholars, and a second company who took the name of Diana's Knights. The torch of Hymen burnt with virgin flame.

5. The blessing and anointing done, the bride and groom, now crowned as King and Queen, dropt down the Thames to Greenwich Park. Already summer heats were on, and life was easier by the water-side in Kent. A royal barge, pursued by other barges, bore them down the stream, with bray of snorting horns and riot of exploding guns. These barges bore a motley company, in which a minstrel jostled with a knight, a wrestler chaffered with a monk. A young and jovial court was formed, in which the morning sport was followed by the evening song. A joust, a masque, a feast, a Maying, varied the delights of every week. The married lovers went a-nut-

ting in the woods. They clomb the hill; they ran into the glade; they dangled in their wherries on the stream. They ran about in search of sights. One night the King put on the dress of his own yeomen of the guard, and with a halbert on his shoulder, marched to the King's Head, in Cheape, and on St. Peter's eve he brought his consort to that famous inn, to see the city watch go past. One day they held a wrestling-match; another day they cast the lance and drew the bow; two sports in which the King excelled. They dressed a company of men in green, and played the merry game of Robin Hood. The King was tipsy with his joy, and Catharine poured her love on him like sunshine on her southern plains. 'My love for Catharine is so great,' he wrote, 'that if I were not married to her, I would not exchange her for any other woman in the world.' And thus, beside the sparkling river, and beneath the leafy woods, these married lovers spent the second portion of their honeymoon.

6. All eyes were bent on them in hope. The King and Queen had taken every heart by storm. By their romantic union they had broken through a formal rule, and everybody, who has not to answer for the breach, is glad when princes break through formal rules. They had removed a weight from every back. All fear of war had passed away. A reign of peace was opening out, and trade seemed likely to increase in every port. The Churchmen were at rest. The country was profoundly calm. All par-

ties and pretenders vanished. York and Lancaster were ceasing to be factious names. Across the border all was still. The thing that every one had said could not be done, was done; and done as every one supposed, beyond appeal. Prince Arthur's widow was King Henry's bride. No priest, no lawyer challenged her to prove her right. If any one was in the wrong it was the Pontiff, and the people were too Catholic in feeling to imagine that a pope could be to blame. In gazing on the youthful King and Queen men threw the past, with all its fears, behind them, and, in ignorance of coming tempests, hailed the morrow as a portal of the golden age.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS.

SEVENTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.—1. Henry to Fernando and Isabel, Nov. 28, 1501; Stow, *Annals*, 805–6.

2. Fernando and Isabel to Puebla, Jan. 6, 1502; Assignment of Catharine's dowry, Nov. 14, 1501; Stow, *Annals*, 807.

3. Grose, *Antiquarian Repertory*, ii. 284–92; Hardyng, *Chronicle*, ed. Ellis, 584.

4. Fabyan, *Chronicle*, 687; Grose, *Ant. Rep.* ii. 292, 318.

5. Granger, *Biographical History of England*, i. 81; Kennedy, *Description of Wilton House*, 42; Laing, *Memoirs of William Dunbar*, 20; Green, *Princesses of England*, iv. 61; Grose, *Ant. Rep.* ii. 291.

6. Arthur to Fernando and Isabel, Nov. 30; Henry to Fernando and Isabel, Nov. 28, 1501; Fernando and Isabel to Puebla, April 15, 1502. Arthur writes:—

Serenissimi ac potentissimi principes et domini mei, etc. Accepti superioribus diebus litteras Vestrarum Majestatum credentiales quas Reverendissimus Dominus Archiepiscopus Sancti Jacobi in Compostella et Illustris comes de Cabra nec non et episcopus Majoricarum, vestri oratores mihi reddiderunt, intellexique ex illis quemadmodum. Vestre Majestates per ipsos suos oratores Illustrissimam principem Dominam Chaterinam filiam suam uxorem meam charissimam tamdiu a me expectatam ad me misissent rogarentque idcirco quatenus eandem dominam principem benigne et humaniter vellem suscipere ac favorabiliter in cunctis tractare, Serenissimi domini mei, persuadere sibi tuto possunt Vestre Serenitates, me tam libenter ipsam meam dilectissimam conjugem vidisse

ut nusquam majus aliquod gaudium meminerim me sensisse, itaque mihi desideratam faciem placuisse, ut nulla in toto orbe mihi magis satisfacere potuisset, moribus denique suis usque adeo me contentum tenere mihique esse satisfactum, ut nihil magis optarem: quam ob rem immortales habeo gracias vestris Serenitatibus, quod tam decoram tamque prestantem et modestam consortem mihi dederint; polliceorque bona fide non minus amicabiliter et favorabiliter esse me illam tracturum quam ego ipse tractari velim, et sicuti thori mei consors est facta, ita quoque et mee omnis felicitatis ac successus gaudiique et letitie particeps sit futura ita ut Vestre Majestates perpetuo se tenere contentas possint quod mihi fuerit desponsata, et ipsa quoque jucundissima sit perpetuo futura, quod me talem sibi maritum fuerit sortita. Restat igitur ut Vestre Majestates feliciter valeant et mihi semper, quacunque in re illis obsequi valeam, libere mandent, quoniam omni meo studio et cura semper enitar ut illis in omnibus morem geram.

Ex oppido de Richemonte die xxx Novembris, MCCCCCI.

ARTHURUS PRINCEPS WALLIE, filius vester deditissimus.

7. Ayala to Isabel, Berg. *Sup. Sp. Pap.* 2, 9.

CHAP. II.—1. Powel, *History of Cambria*, 391; Brewer, *Calendar of State Papers* (*Henry VIII.*), i. 88; Grose, *Antiquarian Repertory*, ii. 319; Anstiss, *Register of the Order of the Garter*, ii. 237; *Documents connected with the History of Ludlow and the Lords Marches*, by the Hon. R. H. Clive (London, 1841), 153.

2. Ayala to Isabel, Berg. *Sup. Sp. Pap.* 2; Marriage Treaty, Oct. 1, 1496.

3. Londoño and Matienzo to Fernando and Isabel, July 18, 1498; Breton to Londoño and Matienzo, July 18, 1498.

4. Matienzo to Fernando and Isabel, July 18, 1498; Spanish merchants to Londoño and Matienzo, July 18, 1498; Henry to Fernando and Isabel, Feb. 3, 1498; Jan. 27, 1499.

5. Ayala to Isabel, *Sup. Sp. Pap.* 2.

6. Bergenroth, *Sup. Sp. Pap.* 2, 3.

CHAP. III.—1. Bergenroth, *Sup. Sp. Pap.* 2, 3. Of the many letters which must have passed between the courts at this period only three or four have been left at Simancas.

2. Clive, *Doc. Hist. Lud.* 19; Anstiss, *Register of the Order of*

the Garter, ii. 237; Brewer, *Calendar of State Papers (Henry VIII.)*, i. 88; *Fast. Eccl. Angl.* iii. 468.

3. Bergenroth, *Sup. Sp. Pap.* 4–5.

4. *Sup. Sp. Pap.* 6–9.

5. Grose, *Antiquarian Repertory*, ii. 319, 20; *Sup. Sp. Pap.* 9, 11; Tiraboschi, *Storia della Literatura Italiana*, vi. 1446.

6. *Biog. Univ.* xvii. 165; Bergenroth, *Sup. Sp. Pap.* 12.

7. Fernando and Isabel to Puebla, Jan. 6, 1502; *Antiq. Rep.* ii. 320; Hardyng, *Chronicle*, 584.

CHAP. IV.—1. Cott. Mss. Vit. A. xvi. f. 198; *A Book of Scottish Pasquils* (Edin. 1868), Int. viii. Ap. 418–22; Orridge, *London Citizens*, 122, 224; Mackenzie, *Lives of the most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation*, ii. 601.

2. Ayala to Fernando and Isabel, July 25, 1496; Brown, *Calendar of Venetian Papers*, i. liv.

3. Ayala to Fernando and Isabel, July 25, 1496; Chalmers, *Caledonia*, b. ii.; Sinclair, *Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland*, 71–107.

4. *Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots, and other Early Memorials of Scottish History*, edited by W. F. Skene, Pref. lxxviii. cxxii.; Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. viii. 219; Sinclair, *Anal. Stat. Scot.* 14–18; Chalmers, *Caledonia*, b. ii. iii. iv.

5. Scott, *Border Antiquities of England and Scotland*, App. vi; Ridpath, *Border History of England and Scotland*, 1848.

6. Ayala to Fernando and Isabel, July 25, 1496; Gibson, *History of Glasgow*, 74; Pinkerton, *History of Scotland*, i. 152.

7. Billings, *Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland*, 1845–52; Mackenzie, *Writers of Scots Nation*, ii. 144, 295, 376, 557; Laing, *Mem. of Dunbar*, prefixed to Dunbar's *Poems*, 20.

CHAP. V.—1. Ayala to Fernando, July 25, 1496; Drummond, *History of Scotland from* 1423 *to* 1542, 183.

2. Ayala to Fernando and Isabel, July 25, 1496; Tytler, *Hist. Scot.* ii. 91, 185, 240; Ellis, *Original Letters*, First Series, i. 29.

3. Ayala to Fernando and Isabel, July, 1496; Collins, *Peerage of England*, i. 68; Drummond, *Hist. Scot.* 229–33.

4. Ayala to Fernando and Isabel, July 25, 1496; Tytler, *History*

of Scotland, ii. 246–269 ; Douglas, *Peerage of Scotland*, i. 269 ; Drummond, *Hist. Scot.* 232.

5. Ayala to Fernando and Isabel, July 25, 1496: Douglas, *Peerage of Scotland*, i. 51, ii. 361 ; Tytler, *Hist. Scot.* App. ii. 394; Mackenzie, *Writers of Scots Nation*, ii. 554; *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, x. 320.

6. Pitcairn, *Historical and Genealogical Account of the Kennedys*, 82, 83; Douglas, *Peerage of Scotland*, i. 328.

7. Drummond, *Hist. Scot.* 232–3; Tytler, *Hist. Scot.* App. ii. 394.

CHAP. VI.—1. Stow, *Survey of London*, b. iv. c. 3; Fuller, *Holy War*, lib. v.; Hollar, *View of St. John of Clerkenwell.* Some copies of Dugdale's *Monasticon* have fine impressions of this view. There is a poor copy in *Londina Illustrata*, p. 48. The copy under my own eyes is that in the great collection of prints illustrating Old London, made by J. E. Gardner, Esq.

2. Cromwell, *History and Description of Clerkenwell*, 122, 130; Pinks, *History of Clerkenwell*, 197, 240; Hardy, *Patent Rolls in the Tower*, 159.

3. *Fœdera*, v. pt. 4, 165, 7; Bacon, *Works*, vi. 216, 17.

4. Grafton, *Chronicle*, abrid. 136; Orridge, *Citizens of London*, 32, 224; Halliwell, *History of New Place*, 2, 3; Collins, *Peerage of England*, iii. 348.

5. Norton, *Commentaries on the History and Constitution of the City of London* (London, 1869), b. i. c. 8; Orridge, *Citizens of London*, 222, 224; Dunbar's Poem, in *Cotton. MSS.*, Vit. A. xvi. 198.

6. *Fœdera*, v. pt. 4, 168; Tytler, *Hist. Scot.* ii. 269; Green, *Princesses of England*, iv. 63, 4.

CHAP. VII.—1. Clive, *Documents connected with the History of Ludlow*, 1–18; *History and Antiquities of the Town of Ludlow* (Lud. 1822), 49, 60; Grose, *Antiquities of England and Wales*, iii. art. Ludlow.

2. Grose, *Antiquarian Repertory*, ii. 321.

3. Henry to Fernando and Isabel, Feb. 20, 1502. This letter from Henry to Fernando and Isabel has been removed from the State collection at Simancas. When and why the removal took place is matter of inference. Not long ago it was in the private

cabinet of Isabel the Second, and was given by her as an autograph to Eugenie, then Empress of the French. A copy, certified by M. Teulet, is in the Record Office, Fetter Lane; the text is printed in *Court and Society*, i. 59.

4. Grose, *Ant. Rep.* ii. 322; Clive, *Doc Hist. Lud.* 19.

5. *Hist. Antiq. Ludlow*, 63; Clive, *Doc. Hist. Ludlow*, 20; *Antiq. Rep.* 322; Powell, *History of Cambria*, 392.

6. Grose, *Ant. Rep.* ii. 322, 3.

CHAP. VIII.—1. Hollar's View of Greenwich, in the Gardner Collection; *Archæologia*, ii. xxv.; Lysons, *Environs of London*, i. 519.

2. Stow, *Annals*, 484.

3. Grose, *Antiquarian Repertory*, ii. 322; Green, *Princesses of England*, iv. 506, v. 3.

4. Lelandi Collectanea, v. 372.

5. Lel. Coll. v. 372; *Privy Purse Exp. Eliz. York*, Int. lxi.

6. Lel. Coll. v. 373.

EIGHTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.—1. Carvajal, *Documentos Ineditos*, xviii. 304; Powers given to Estrada, May 10, 1502; Gamero, *Historia de Toledo*, lib. ii. c. 6; Grose, *Antiq. Rep.* ii. 319.

2. Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, May 10, 1502; Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. xxix. c. 4; Martin, *Hist. de France*, viii. 412–5.

3. Fernando and Isabel to Puebla, May 10, 1502.

4. *Documents Originaux de l'Histoire de France*, 313, 314; *Memoires de Comines*, lib. viii. c. 23; Baudier, *Histoire de l'Administration du Cardinal d'Amboise*, 74; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. v. c. 1, 2, 3; Mariana, *Historia de España*, lib. xxvii. c. 16; Bernaldez, *Reyes Catolicos*, c. 166.

5. Instructions for Estrada, May 10, 1502.

6. Instructions for Estrada, May 10, 1502. The first set of instructions for Estrada read:—

Ferdinandus et Elizabeth dei gratia rex et regina Castelle, etc. Confidentes admodum de fide legalitate et animi integritate vestri Ferdinandi Duque de Estrada magistri Aule, consiliarii et oratoris nostri, tenore presentis de nostra certa scientia deliberate et con-

sulto eis omnibus melioribus via, modo et forma quibus de jure et alias possumus et valemus, facimus, constituimus, creamus et ordinamus nostrum verum certum legitimum et indubitatum procuratorem, oratorem et nuntium specialem et ad infra scripta generalem, ita tamen quod specialitas generalitati non deroget, nec e contra, vos eundem Ferdinandum Duque de Estrada, videlicet ut pro nobis et nomine nostro ac nomine Illustrissime Catherine principis Wallie infantis Castelle et Aragonum filie nostre dilectissime possitis petere, recipere, recuperare a serenissimo Enrico rege Anglie fratre nostro dilectissimo illa centum millia scuta auri justi et recti ponderis ac valoris, que eidem Serenissimo regi Anglie in pecunia numerata realiter et cum effectu solvimus isque a nobis recepisse confessus est in solutionem medietatis dotis per nos promisse cum prefata illustrissima principe et infante Catherina filia nostra in contractu per utrasque partes inito et firmato super matrimonio, quod concordatum et contractum fuerat inter illustrissimum quondam Arthurum principem Wallie ejusdem serenissimi regis Anglie fratris nostri dilectissimi primogenitum et heredem bone memorie et eandem illustrissimam Catherinam principem et infantem filiam nostram: possitisque, cum predicta centum millia escuta auri recuperaveritis, de illorum receptione nomine nostro et ejusdem illustrissime principis et infantis filie nostre et pro nobis facere, concedere, firmare et tradere eidem serenissimo regi Anglie fratri nostro quascumque apocas, albarana, definiciones et alias legitimas cautelas: et nihilominus possitis pro nobis et nomine nostro et dicte principis et infantis filie nostre requirere et procurare apud eundem serenissimum regem Anglie fratrem nostrum, quod tertia pars reddituum principatus Wallie, ducatus Cornubie et comitatus Castrie, que virtute prefati contractus matrimonialis eidem assignari et tradi debet pro sustentatione sui status, assignetur et detur eidem in bonis villis et locis ubi ipsa dictam tertiam partem reddituum seu ejus justum valorem anno quolibet libere et absque impedimento aliquo colligere et levare possit: Si res ista hactenus expedita non fuerit, preterea possitis pro nobis et nomine nostro requirere et instare ac rogare eundem Serenissimum regem Anglie fratrem nostrum, omne id totum et quidquid conveniat pro reditu in Hispaniam ad eos prefate illustrissime principis et infantis filie nostre onusque illam recipiendi et ad nos deferendi una cum aliis personis quas ad eam comitandam deputavimus per vos declarandis

acceptare et accipere: et inde nomine nostro eidem serenissimo regi Anglie fratri nostro concedere facere et tradere quamcunque exonerationem necessariam et opportunam ac per eundem Serenissimum regem petitam; et generaliter possitis in predictis et circa ea nomine nostro et pro nobis omnia alia et singula facere, procurare et concedere et firmare que necessaria fuerint quomodolibet et opportuna et que nos facere possimus si in premissis personaliter adessemus, etiam si talia sint que ad ea conficiendum mandatum exigant magis speciale quam presentibus est expressum, dantes et concedentes vobis predicto oratori et procuratori nostro plenum posse et generale mandatum ad premissa omnia et singula faciendum cum libera et generali administratione, promittentes eidem serenissimo regi Anglie fratri nostro nos habere ratum gratum validum atque firmum omne id totum, et quidquid per vos predictum oratorem et procuratorem nostrum in predictis et quolibet predictorum nomine nostro fuerit factum et firmatum et illud nullo unquam tempore revocare: In cujus rei testimonium presentes fieri jussimus manibus nostris signatas sigilloque nostro in pendenti munitas.

Datum in civitate Toleti die decimo mensis Maii anno a nativitate domini millesimo quingentesimo secundo.

Yo el Rey. Yo el Reyna.

The second, and more important, set of instructions, read:—

Ferdinandus et Helizabeth dei gratia rex et regina Castelle, Legionis, etc. Quoniam pro majori observantia et securitate confederationis et amicitia que est inter nos et Serenissimum Enricum regem Anglie fratrem nostrum dilectissimum et pro augmento affinitatis nostre fuit tractatum, quod Illustrissima Catherina princeps Wallie ac infans Castelle et Aragonum filia nostra charissima contrahat matrimonium cum Illustrissimo Enrico principe Wallie filio legitimo et herede ejusdem Serenissimi regis Anglie fratris nostri, et quia mens et voluntas nostra est, si eidem Serenissimo regi ita placuerit, quod predictum matrimonium, deo annuente, fiat et concludatur, propterea confidentes admodum de fide, prudentia, legalitate et animi integritate vestri Ferdinandi Duque de Strada magistri Aule et consiliarii nostri, tenore presentiarum de nostra certa scientia deliberate et consulte eis omnibus melioribus via modo et forma quibus de jure et alias possumus et valemus, faci-

mus constituimus, etc. nostrum verum certum legitimum et indubitatum procuratorem, oratorem, etc specialem et ad infra scripta generalem, ita tamen quod specialitas generalitati non deroget nec e contra, vos eundem Ferdinandum Duque de Strada, videlicet ut pro nobis et nomine nostro possitis tractare et concordare et firmare cum dicto Serenissimo rege Anglie fratre nostro sponsalia et matrimonium predicte illustrissime principis et infantis Catherine filie nostre charissime cum dicto illustrissimo principe Wallie Enrico filio legitimo et herede dicti Serenissimi regis Anglie fratris nostri et promittere quod nos faciemus et curabimus dabimusque operam cum effectu quod dicta illustrissima princeps et infans Catherina filia nostra predicta sponsalia et matrimonium faciet, concedet et contrahet per verba de presenti, matrimonium facientia juxta ordinem Sancte Romane ecclesie, cum dicto illustrissimo Enrico principe Wallie, filio legitimo et herede dicti Serenissimi regis anglie fratris nostri, cum ipse ad legitimam pervenerit etatem ad illud faciendum, concedendum et contrahendum, et quod postea celebrabit et consumabit dictum matrimonium cum dicto illustrissimo Enrico principe Wallie prout et quemadmodum legitime vir et uxor facere debent: possitisque nomine nostro et predicte principis et infantis Catherine filie nostre petere et recipere similem promissionem et obligationem a dicto Serenissimo rege Anglie fratre nostro pro se ipso et nomine predicti Enrici principis Wallie ejus filii, videlicet quod cum ipse princeps ad legitimam pervenerit etatem, ut prefertur, faciet sponsalia et contrahet matrimonium per verba de presenti juxta ordinem sacrosancte matris ecclesie Romane cum dicta illustrissima principe infante Catherina filia nostra et consumabit et celebrabit cum ea dictum matrimonium prout et quemadmodum legitimi vir et uxor id facere debent: et possitis concedere et firmare quod predicta fieri debeant et adimpleri modis formis temporibus et locis quibus vobis dicto oratori et procuratori nostro bene visum fuerit, et prout ea vos concordabitis, concedetis, capitulabitis et firmabitis: damus etiam et potestatem et facultatem vobis prefato oratori et procuratori nostro ut possitis concordare et firmare cum dicto Serenissimo rege Anglie fratre nostro dotem quam nos dare teneamur cum dicta principe et infante Catherina filia nostra tam in jocalibus atque lapidibus preciosis et in argento et vestibus et ornamentis persone et domus sue, quam in pecuniis, summam videlicet et quantitatem que nobis bene visa fuerit et

terminis et locis quibus istam dare et solvere teneamur et conditiones, pacta et conventiones que in solutione et restitutione ejusdem dotis poni et concedi et firmari debent, et nihilominus damus vobis potestatem et facultatem ut possitis petere et concordare augmentum dotis et donationis propter nuptias et cameram, que debent dari et assignari dicto principi et infanti Catherine filie nostre pro sustentatione sui status, et in quibus civitatibus, villis et locis et redditibus, prout vobis dicto oratori nostro bene visum fuerit: et demum possitis facere et firmare omnia et singula que pro expeditione et complemento dicti matrimonii necessaria, convenientia et opportuna vobis videbuntur, et de predictis omnibus et singulis possitis concordare facere et firmare nomine nostro cum prefato Serenissimo rege Anglie fratre nostro, fierique facere petere et instare quecunque capitula et quoscunque tractatus cum illis pactis conditionibus etc. quibus volueritis, et generaliter omnia alia et singula facere et firmare, cujuscunque nature, qualitatis et importantie fuerint aut esse poterint, in predictis et circa ea que nos facere possemus si in premissis personaliter adessemus, etiam si talia sint que ad ea conficienda preceptum exigant magis speciale: Damus etiam et concedimus vobis dicto procuratori et oratori nostro plenum posse, quod possitis jurare in animas nostras quod tenebimus etc. omnia et singula que in predictis et circa ea nomine nostro concordabitis etc. possitisque simile juramentum petere et decipere ab eodem Serenissimo rege Anglie etc.; Pro quibus omnibus et singulis antedictis cum invidentibus, dependentibus etc. damus et concedimus vobis plenum posse cum libera et generali administratione; promittentes in fide et verbo nostro regiis prefato Serenissimo regi Anglie fratri nostro et obligamus nos tenere et adimplere etc. omnia et singula que in predictis et circa ea nomine nostro per vos dictum procuratorem et oratorem nostrum fuerint facta, concordata, jurata etc. eis modo et forma quibus vos ea concordabitis etc. et nullo unquam tempore revocare nec contra ea aut eorum aliquod facere vel venire aliquo tempore nec modo aliquo sub obligatione omnium bonorum nostrorum patrimonialium et fiscalium: In quorum testimonium presentem fieri jussimus manibus nostris signatam sigilloque nostro in pendenti munitam.

Datum in civitate Toleti die decimo mensis Maii anno a nativitate domini millesimo quingentessimo secundo.

7. Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, May 10, June 14, 1502.

CHAP. II.—1. Fernando and Isabel to Puebla, May 12, 1502.

2. Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, June 14, 1502. This important letter from Puebla has been removed from Simancas. When and why it was removed is matter of conjecture, taken in relation to the great controversies of after years. We know that Charles the Fifth had a collection of Puebla's letters in his hands. See Edward Lee to Henry the Eighth, April 20, 1529.

3. Giustinian to Estrada, May 10, 1502; Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, June 14, 16, 1502.

4. Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, June 16, 1502; Gregorio di Casale to Henry the Eighth, Dec. 26, 1532.

5. Puebla to Isabel, in Bergenroth, *Cal. Sp. Papers*, i. 339.

6. Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, June 16, 1502; *Biog. Univ.* xvii. 165.

7. Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, June 28, 1502; Opinions of the Doctors of Salamanca, April 12, 1502.

8. Isabel to Estrada, July 12, Aug. 10, 1502, April 12, 1503; Bernaldez, *Reyes Catolicos*, c. 168.

CHAP. III.—1. My Note Book; Act of Marriage, May 19, 1499; Powel, *Hist. Camb.*, 392; *Lelandi Collectanea*, v. 373–8; Murray, *Handbook of Worcester Cathedral*, 212–3.

2. Bacon, *Works*, vi. 214. Not a word of the important correspondence between Catharine and her mother or between Elvira and her mistress at this period is to be found at Simancas.

3. Old Prints in the Gardner Collection; Harris, *Historic Peerage*, 576, 590; Edwards, *Life of Raleigh*, ii. 262.

4. Ducarel, *History of Croydon*, 40–70; Lysons, *Environs of London, Surrey*, i. part i. 126–8; Malcolm, *Manners and Customs of London*, 453; Hook, *Archbishops of Canterbury*, v. 516; *Journal of the Archæological Institute*, xviii. 267; Duck, *Life of Chichele*, 174.

5. Fabyan, *Chronicle*, 688; Herbert, *Life and Reign of Henry the Eighth*, 2.

6. Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, i. xli; Fabyan, *Chronicle*, 688.

CHAP. IV.—1. Fernando and Isabel to Puebla, May 21, 1502; *Documents Originaux de France*, 314, 315; *Lettres des Rois, Collections de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France*, ii. 511; Seysell,

Vie Histoire de Louis XII., 205–18; Baudier, *Admin. du Cond. d'Amboise*, 21, 23, 26, 61; Novaes, *Pontefici da San Pietro*, vi. 94.

2. Isabel to Estrada, Aug. 12, 1502.

3. Fernando and Isabel to Puebla, June 15, Aug. 10, 1502; Isabel to Estrada, Aug. 10, 1502; Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, Dec. 13, 1502. Estrada's confidential correspondence has been removed from Simancas. It is only from the King and Queen's replies that we gather the particulars here set forth.

4. Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, June 14, 1502; Isabel to Puebla, Aug. 10, 1502; *Biog. Univ.* xvii. 165.

5. Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, June 14, 1502; Isabel to Estrada, Aug. 10, 1502; Tiraboschi, *Storia della Literatura Italiana*, vi. 1446–7.

6. Indorsement on Fernando's letter, June 14, 1502; Quirini to Signory, Mar. 31, 1505; Herbert, *Life and Reign of Henry VIII.*

7. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. v. c. 3, 4; Herbert, *Life and Reign of Henry VIII.*, 7; Hook, *Archbishops of Canterbury*, new series, i. 195; *Fast. Eccl. Angl.* i. 41, 171, 11–52.

CHAP. V.—1. Carvajal, *Documentos inéditos*, xviii. 302-5; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. v. c. 3, 4; Novaes, *Pontefici da San Pietro*, vi. 95–116; Sismondi, *Hist. Rep. Ital.* vii. 85, 92. Readers who wish to judge how much of liberal thought and spiritual independence survived in Spain, notwithstanding all the efforts of Isabel's inquisitors, should study the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*, edited by Don Luis de Usos y Rios, 20 volumes; particularly, *Artes de la Inquisicion Española*, by Montes; *Alfabeto Christiano*, and *Ziento y diez Consideraciones*, by Valdez; and *Breve Sumario de Induljenzias*, by Perez. For a list of the prohibited books published in Spain in the century of Isabel's death, see *History of Religious Intolerance in Spain*, by Adolfo de Castro, Ap. 1.

2. Isabel to Estrada, July 12, 1502. The important letter of Elvira referred to by Isabel has been removed from Simancas.

3. Isabel to Estrada, July 12, 1502.

4. Novaes, *Pontefici da San Pietro*, vi. 109; Martire, *De Legatione Babylonicæ*, 76, et seq.; Garibay, *Compendio*, ii. lib. xix. c. 12; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. v. c. 3.

5. Isabel to Estrada, July 12, 1502.
6. Isabel to Estrada, July 12, 1502.

CHAP. VI.—1. Fernando and Isabel to Puebla, July 18, 1502; Isabel to Puebla, Aug. 10, 1502; Gamero, *Historia de Toledo*, lib. ii. c. 5.

2. Isabel to Puebla, Aug. 10, 1502.

3. Giovio, *Vita Magni Gonsalvi*, lib. ii. 203–9; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. v. c. 3, 4; Novaes, *Pontefici da San Pietro*, vi. 110; Martin, *Histoire de France*, viii. 414; Sismondi, *Hist. Rep. Ital.* vii. 83–98; Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, iv. 66, 75.

4. Isabel to Estrada, Aug. 10, 1502.
5. Isabel to Estrada, Aug. 10, 1502.
6. Isabel to Estrada, Aug. 10, 1502.

CHAP. VII.—1. Fernando to Estrada, Sep. 1, 1502; Isabel to Estrada, Aug. 21, 25, 1502; Giovio, *Vit. Mag. Gonsal.* lib. ii. 209; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. v. c. 4, 5; Sismondi, *Hist. Rep. Ital.* vii. 93.

2. Bernaldez, *Reyes Catolicos*, c. 165; Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada*, 13; Martire, *De Legatione Babylonicæ*, 81; Ballaguer, *Historia de Cataluña*, lib. ix. c. 1.

3. Isabel to Puebla, Sep. 30, 1502; Fernando to Estrada, Sep. 1, 1502; Fernando and Isabel to Rojas, Nov. 17, 1502.

4. Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, Dec. 13, 1502; Draft of Articles, Sep. 24, 1502, in *Cott. MSS. Vesp.* c. xii. 218.

5. Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, Dec. 13, 1502.
6. Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, Dec. 13, 1502.

NINTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.—1. *Privy Purse Expenses of Eliz. of York*, 3–70; Lambarde, *Perambulations of Kent*, 386; *Rot. Parl.* vi. 270.

2. *Lelandi Collectanea*, v. 375-8.

3. Brayley, *Westminster Abbey*, ii. 79; *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry the Seventh*, in *Excerpta Historica*, 85; *Privy Purse Exp. Eliz. York*, 3, 29; Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments*, ii. p. 3, 327.

4. Dart, *Westmonasterium*, 1, 3, 9, 14, 20, 26, 32; Butler, *Lives of Saints*, ii. 343–55; Stanley, *Mem. West. Abb.* 156-9.

5. Powel, *History of Cambria*, 390; Lynch, *Law and Usage of the Prescriptive Baronies of Ireland*, 38; Stanley, *Mem. West. Abbey* 160.

CHAP II.—1. Tighe, *Annals of Windsor*, i. 429.

2. Pinks, *History of Clerkenwell*, 217; Dart, *Abbots of West.* ii. xxxiv.; Henry the Seventh's Will in Record Office, Richmond, Mar. 31, 1509; Old prints in the Gardner Collection.

3. *History of the Ancient Savoy Palace*, by J. Bruce, 5, 6; Nicolas, *Historic Peerage*, 395; *Cott. MSS. Cleop.* v. c. 1; Collins, *Life of Edward the Black Prince*, 1740.

4. Hardy, *Close Rolls*, Pref. xxx.; Furnival, *Ballads from Manuscripts*, i. Pt. I. 158–62; Howel, *Londinopolis*, 356; Newton, *London in the Olden Time*, 15, 78, 83, 88; Nelson, *History of the Parish of St. Mary, Islington*, 192; Old Prints in the Gardner Collection.

5. Morley, *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair*, 2–9; Doran, *History of Court Fools*, 102–6; Dugdale, *Baronage of England*, ii. 81; *Rot. Parl.* v. 571, 606; Stow, *Survey of London*, 304; Ducarel, *History of the Hospital of St. Catharine*, 7–20; Newton, *London in the Olden Time*, 9; Old Plans and Prints in the Gardner Collection.

6. Institutiones et Statuta Hospitalis de Savoy, *Cott. MSS. Cleop.* v. art. 1; Notes touching the Foundation and Endowments of the Savoy Hospital, *Harl. MSS.* 604, f. 22.

CHAP. III.—1. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. v. c. 4, 5; Giovio, *Vita Mag. Gonsal.* lib. ii. 205; Sismondi, *Hist. Rep. Ital.* vii. 86; *Mémoires de Chevalier de Bayard*, par le Loyal Serviteur, c. xxiii.

2. Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, 1, 141; Fabyan, *Chronicle*, 688; *Fœdera*, v. 26.

3. Puebla to Fernando and Isabel, June 16, 1500; Doge and Senate to Trevisano and others, Feb. 17, 1501; Fernando and Isabel to Puebla, April 29, 1503; Juana to Fuensalida, May 11,

1509; Fernando to Fuensalida, May 14, 1509; *Chronicle of Calais*, 5.

4. *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, xci.; Green, *Lives of the Princesses of England*, v. 144; Fabyan, *Chronicle*, 688.

5. André, *Cott. MSS.* Dom. A. xviii.; Mocenigo to the Signory, Mar. 20, 1503; Isabel to Estrada, April 11, 12, 1503; Grose, *Antiq. Report*, iv. 654; *Privy Purse Expenses of Eliz. of York*, xciii.

CHAP. IV.—1. Pole to Killingworth, May 12, 1502; Mocenigo to Doge and Signory, December 10, 1502; Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, Dec. 13, 1502; *Rot. Parl.* vi. 270.

2. Fernando and Isabel to Puebla, April 29, 1502; Isabel to Estrada, Aug. 25, 1502; Mariana, *Historia de España*, lib. xvii. c. 14.

3. Carvajal, *Documentos Ineditos*, xviii. 305; Gamero, *Historia de Toledo*, lib. ii. c. 4; Isabel to Estrada, Aug. 25, 1502; Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, i. 140; Quirini, *Correspondence* (Transcripts in Record Office), xlix. 5.

4. Cott. MSS. Galba, ii. 105; Camden, *Britannia* (ed. Gough), ii. 306; Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, i. 134, 226.

5. Cott. MSS. Vitel. A. xvi. 183; Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, i. 134, 135.

6. Raimondo to Sforza, April 14, 1499; Extracts from Saunders' Diaries, Jan. 31, 1503; Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, i. 134–190, c. 4, p. 6; Sanuto, *Diaries*, i. 295, 317; Quirini to the Signory, Mar. 8, 1505.

CHAP. V.—1. Napier, *Historical Notices of the Parishes of Swyncomb and Ewelme*, c. x.; Fabyan, *Chronicle*, 688; Hook, *Archbishops of Canterbury*, i. 169, 170.

2. Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, i. 152–177.

3. Cott. MSS. Vitell. A. xvi. 198; Green, *Princesses of England*, iv. 21; Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, i. 177, 181, 226; Hall, *Union of Lancaster and York, Henry 7th*, 495.

4. Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, i. 106–112, 177, 178; Mocenigo to the Signory, Jan. 31, 1503.

5. Cott. MSS. Caligula, D. vi. 42; Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, i. 177–80.

6. Fernando and Isabel to Puebla, April 29, 1502; Napier,

Historical Notes of the Parishes of Swyncomb and Ewelme, c. x.; Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, i. 177, 189, ii. 106.

7. Isabel to Estrada, Aug. 25, 1502; Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, i. 140.

CHAP. VI.—1. Puebla to Fernando and Isabel, Dec. 5, 1504; Grose, *Antiq. Repert.* iv. 654.

2. Isabel to Estrada, April 11, 12, 1503.

3. Grose, *Antiquarian Repertory*, iv. 654; *Privy Purse Exp. Eliz. of York*, xcvii.; Isabel to Estrada, April 11, 12, 1503.

4. Isabel to Puebla, April 11, 1503; Isabel to Estrada, April 12, 1503.

5. Carvajal, *Documentos Ineditos*, xviii. 305-7; Isabel to Puebla April 11, 1503; Isabel to Estrada, April 11, 12, 1503.

6. Isabel to Estrada, April 12, 1503; Hook, *Archbishops of Canterbury*, New Series, i. 195.

CHAP. VII.—1. Isabel to Estrada, April 12, 1503.

2. Isabel to Estrada, May 4, 1503.

3. Zurita, *Anales*, v. lib. iv. c. 55; Carvajal, *Documentos Inedi-tos*, xviii. 307; Isabel's Letters Patent, Medina del Campo, Nov. 23, 1504.

4. Letters Patent, Nov. 23, 1504; Mariana, *Historia de España*, lib. xxvii. c. 11; Zurita, *Anales*, v. lib. v. c. 10.

5. Martin, *Histoire de France*, viii. 411–13; Sismondi, *Hist. Rep. Ital.* vii. 122; *Op. Epist. Pet. Mart.* Ep. 250, 255; Zurita, *Rey Hernando*, i. lib. v. c. 23; Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique*, iv. 27–9.

6. Giannone, *Istoria Civile del Regno di Napoli*, xii. 189; Guicci-ardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. v. c. 5; Giovio, *Vit. Mag. Gonsal.* 253–5; Martin, *Hist. France*, viii. 417; Bernaldez, *Reyes Catolicos*, c. 178.

CHAP. VIII.—1. Isabel to Estrada, April 12, 1503; Almazan to Catharine, May 18, 1509; Herbert, *Life and Reign of Henry the Eighth*, 7, 216.

2. Henry's Commission to Warham, Fox, and Barons, Rich-mond, June 20, 1503; Herbert, *Life and Reign of Henry the Eighth*, 718.

3. First Marriage Act, 32 Henry VIII. c. 38; Blackstone, *Commentaries*, i. 441; Jeaffreson, *Brides and Bridals*, i. 108–123.

4. Herbert, *Life and Reign of Henry the Eighth*, 7, 8, 216; Wolsey to Henry, July 5, 1527.

5. Draft of Treaty, Richmond, June 23, 1503.

CHAP. IX.—1. Draft of Treaty, June 23, 1503.

2. Herbert, *Life and Reign of Henry the Eighth*, 7, 8.

3. Isabel to Estrada, April 12, 1503; Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, Jan. 24, 1504; Ratification of Treaty by Fernando and Isabel, Barcelona, Sept. 24, 1503; Repudiation of Treaty by the Prince of Wales, Richmond, June 27, 1505.

4. Cott. MSS. Vesp. c. xii. 218; Hook, *Archbishops of Canterbury*, New Series, i. 196; Jeaffreson, *Brides and Bridals*, i. 108–29; Herbert, *Life and Reign*, 216. For the general view, see Reeve, *History of the Law of England*, iv. 206–19; Vaughan, *Reports in the Common Pleas*, 206–13; and Burn, *Ecclesiastical Law*, ii. 449. For the particular application see the correspondence from Rome, in *State Papers of Henry the Eighth*, vols. vii. and viii.

5. First Article of Draft, June 23, 1503.

6. Draft of Treaty, June 23, 1503; Fernando to Estrada, Sept. 24, 1503; Ratification by Fernando and Isabel, Sept. 24, 1503.

TENTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.—1. Fernando to Estrada, Sept. 24, 1503; Fernando to Henry, Sept. 24, 1503; Isabel to Estrada, Oct. 3, 1503; Carvajal, *Documentos ineditos*, xviii. 305–7.

2. Fernando to Rojas, Aug. 23, 1503; Catharine to Isabel, Nov. 26, 1504; Haro, *Nobilario Genealogico de los Reyes y Titulos de España*, ii. 376.

3. Isabel to Estrada, Oct. 3, 1503; Henry to Lerma, June 28, 1502; Henry to Estrada, July 10, 1503; Brown, *Cal. Ven. Pap.* i. lxi.-lxxii.; Clemencin, *Elogio de la Reyna Catolica*, vi. 105–115.

4. Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. xxix. c. 4; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. vi. c. 1; Giovio, *Vit. Mag. Gonsal.* lib. vi. 368; Martin, *Hist. de France*, viii. 220–222; Ballaguer, *Historia de Cataluña*, lib. viii. c. 32; Bernaldez, *Reyes Catolicos*, c. 196.

5. Isabel to Estrada, second letter, Oct. 3, 1503.

6. Isabel to Estrada, second letter, Oct. 3, 1503.

CHAP. II.—1. Fernando to Estrada, Sept. 24, 1503; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. iii. cap. 6; Sismondi, *Hist. Rép. Ital.* vi. 251, 253, 274, 491, vii. 147; Raynaldo, *Annal. Eccl.* 1501, 36.

2. Doge to Giustinian, Jan. 27, 1504; Novaes, *Pontefici da San Pietro*, vi. 79; Berni, *Creacion Antiguedad y Privilegios de los Titulos de Castilla*, 187; Ranke, *Hist. Popes*, Ap. 3, 4.

3. Fernando to Estrada, Sept. 24, 1503; *Op. Epist. Pet. Mart.* Ep. 119, 123; Novaes, *Pontefici da San Pietro*, vi. 81–85; Clemencin, *Elogio de la Reyna Catolica*, vi. 105, 115; Berni, *Titulos de Castilla*, 187.

4. Fernando to Rojas, Aug. 24, 1503: Fernando to Estrada, Sept. 24, 1503; Doge to Giustinian, Jan. 27, 1504; Ranke, *Hist. of Popes*, c. ii.

5. Henry to Alexander, July 18, 1497; Morton to Alexander, July 18, 1497; Berni, *Tit. Cast.* 187.

6 Henry to Julius, Nov. 28, 1504.

CHAP. III.—1. Novaes, *Pontefici da San Pietro*, vi. 110–20.

2. Raimondo to Sforza, Sept. 8, 1497; Novaes, *Pontefici da San Pietro*, vi. 113; *Fast. Eccl. Angl.* i. 143, 467, ii. 383; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. vi. c. 1.

3. Machiavelli, *Il Principe*, c. 7; Novaes, *Pontefici da San Pietro*, vi. 121–130; Baudier, *Histoire de l' Administration de Card. d'Amboise*, 106; Doge and Senate to Giustinian, Jan. 27, 1504.

4. Mem. of Sacred College, Sept. 21, 1503; Doge and Senate to Giustinian, Jan. 27, 1504.

5. Mem. of Sacred College, Sept. 21, 1503.

6. Mem. of Sacred College, Sept. 21, 1503.

7. Fernando to Estrada, Sept. 24, 1503; Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, June 26, 1504; Raynaldo, *Ann. Eccl.* 1503, 12, 13; Baudier, *Hist. Adm. de Card. d'Amboise*, 106–9; Novaes, *Pontefici da San Pietro*, vi. 121–9.

CHAP. IV.—1. Adriano to Henry, Jan. 4, 1504; Quirini, *Correspondence* (Transcripts in Record Office), xlix. 3; Novaes, *Pontefici da San Pietro*, vi. 130; Martin, *Hist. de France*, viii. 224–227.

2. Fernando and Isabel to Rojas, Nov. 17, 1502; Fernando to Rojas, Aug. 23, 1503; Novaes, *Pontefici da San Pietro*, vi. 130.

3. Novaes, *Pontefici da San Pietro*, vi. 130–5; Sismondi, *Hist. Rép. Ital.* vii. 156–93; Ranke, *Hist. Popes*, lib. i. c. 2.

4. Fernando to Rojas, Aug. 23, 1503.

5. *Fast. Eccl. Angl.* i. 53, 69, 167, 189, 313, 449; Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, ii. 337; Henry to Sforza, April 1, 1496; Doge to Venetian Amb. in Rome, July 10, 1496; Recontract of the League, July 18, 1496.

6. Ratification by Isabel, Sept. 30, 1503; Ratification by Henry, Mar. 3, 1504; Henry to Julius, Nov. 28, 1504.

7. Mem. of Sacred College, Sept. 21, 1503; Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, June 26, 1504.

CHAP. V.—1. Draft of Articles, June 23, 1503; Fernando to Rojas, Aug. 23, 1503; Ratification by Isabel, Sept. 30, 1503; Adriano to Henry, Jan. 4, 1504; Henry to Julius, Nov. 28, 1504.

2. *Chronica Juridicialia*, 147; Herbert, *Life and Reign of Henry the Eighth*, 273; Hook, *Archbishops of Canterbury*, New Series, i. 172; *Fast. Eccl. Angl.* i. 142, 196, 376, 518, ii. 367, iii. 16, 292, 601, 673; André, *Vit. Hen. Sept.* 33.

3. Adriano to Henry, Jan. 4, 1504; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. vi. c. 2.

4. Doge and Senate to Giustinian, Jan. 27, 1504; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. vi. c. 2.

5. Adriano to Henry, Jan. 4, 1504; Baudier, *Hist. Adm. de Card. d'Amboise*, 114.

6. Fernando to Estrada, Sept. 24, 1503; Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, June 26, 1504; Adriano to Henry, Jan. 4, 1504.

7. Adriano to Henry, Jan. 4, 1504.

CHAP. VI.—1. Isabel to Estrada, Oct. 3, 1503; Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, Jan. 24, 1504.

2. Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, Jan. 24, 1504.

3. Cott. MSS. Vit. B. xii. 134, and *Fœdera*, xiii. 89. That this document, usually printed as the papal bull, was a mere draft, is evident. A fortnight after it was dated, Cardinal Adriano reported from Julius that nothing had been done (Adriano to Henry, Jan. 4, 1504). Seven months afterwards, Fernando and

Isabel told Estrada that the Pope had not yet issued any bull, but 'promised' one by word of mouth (Fernando and Isabel, to Estrada, June 26, 1504). Henry had not yet ratified the articles (Henry's Ratification, March 3, 1504).

4. Adriano to Henry, Jan. 4, 1504; Casale to Henry VIII. Dec. 26, 1532; Novaes, *Pontefici da San Pietro*, vi. 134.

5. Cott. MSS. Vit. B. xii. 134; Baudier, *Hist. Adm. Card. d'Amboise*, 114, 116.

6. Commission to Henry's ambassadors, Feb. 18, 1504; Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, June 26, 1504.

7. Commission to Henry's ambassadors, Feb. 18, 1504; André, *Vit. Hen. Sept.* 84; Gairdner, *Letters and Papers*, ii. 60, 179; Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, i. 451.

CHAP. VII.—1. Julius to Henry, July 6, 1504; Novaes, *Pont. da San Pietro*, vi. 135; *Lives of the Dukes of Urbino.*

2. Isabel to Estrada, Oct. 3, 1503; Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, June 26, 1504; Adriano to Henry, Jan. 4, 1504.

3. Baudier, *Hist. Adm. Card. d'Amboise*, 113-20; Giovio, *Vit. Mag. Gonsal.* lib. ii. 235; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. vi. c. 2; Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. xxix. c. 4.

4. Giovio, *Vit. Mag. Gonsal.* lib. ii. 236-8; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. vi. c. 2.

5. Sismondi, *Hist. Rép. Ital.* vii, 170, 171; Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. xxix. c. 4.

6. Baudier, *Hist. Adm. Card. d'Amboise*, 120-3; Martin, *Histoire de France*, viii. 431-2; Henry's Ratification of Articles, March 1504

CHAP. VIII.—1. Estrada to Isabel, Aug. 10, 1504.

2. Cott. MSS. Vit. B. xii. 134; *Fast. Eccl. Angl.* ii. 605.

3. Henry to Estrada, July 1, 1504; Estrada to Isabel, Aug. 10, 1504.

4. Doge and Senate to Giustinian, Jan. 27, 1504; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. vi. c. 3; Giovio, *Vit. Mag. Gonsal.* lib. iii.

5. Macchiavelli, *Legatione alla Corta di Roma*, Dec. 2, 1503; Giovio, *Vit. Mag. Gonsal.* lib. iii. 246; Baudier, *Hist. Adm. Card. d'Amboise*, 125.

6. Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. vi. c. 3; Giovio, *Vit. Mag. Gonsal.* lib. iii. 247; Raynaldo, *Ann. Eccl.* 1504, 12.

CHAP. IX.—1. My Note-book; Carvajal, *Documentos Inéditos*, xviii. 308-9; Giovio, *Vit. Mag. Gonsal.* lib. iii. 247.

2. Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, June 26, 1504; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. vi. c. 3; Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. xxix. c. 4; Sanuto's *Diary*, vi. 282.

3. Julius to Henry, July 6, 1504; Estrada to Isabel, Aug. 10, 1504; Henry to Julius, Nov. 28, 1504; Puebla to Fernando and Isabel, Dec. 5, 1504; Quirini, *Correspondence*, xlix. 2.

4. Fernando to Rojas, Aug. 23, 1503; Julius to Henry, July 6, 1504.

5. Estrada to Isabel, August 10, 1504; Puebla to Fernando and Isabel, Oct. 23, 1504.

6. Estrada to Isabel, August 10, 1504; Sylvestro di Giglis to Henry, March 17, 1505.

7. Puebla to Fernando, Oct. 23, 1504; Proclamation by Fernando and Isabel, Medina del Campo, Nov. 16, 1504; Fernando to Henry, Nov. 24, 1504.

CHAP. X.—1. Henry to Julius, Nov. 28, 1504; Puebla to Fernando and Isabel, Dec. 5, 1504; Isabel's Will, Oct. 12, 1504; Est. Patron. Real Sest. leg. 3°.

2. Puebla to Isabel, Oct. 23, Dec. 5. 1504.

3. Isabel's Will, Oct. 12, 1504, Est. Pat. Real leg. 3°. The fifth clause is supposed to have been added on the 17th of Nov. 1504. See Bergenroth, *Sup. Cal.* 63.

4. Fernando to Puebla, June 22, 1505; Informacion de lo que pero Sarmiento, Corregidor de Medina, &c. Arch. gen. Lim. Est. leg. 1°°, 192; Treaty of Blois, Sep. 22, 1504; Bernaldez, *Reyes Catolicos*, c. 203; Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. xxx. c. 1.

5. Transcript of Isabel's Letter-patent, Nov. 23, 1504, Arch. gen. Sim. Pat. Real. leg 2; Zurita, *Anales*, v. lib. v. c. 84; Mariana, *Historia de España*, lib. xxviii. c. 11.

6. 'Informacion de lo que pero Sarmiento corregidor de Medina dixo lo qual no se vio con la turbacion del tiempo que entonces corria. Año de 1507.'

En la noble villa de medina del campo a diez e syete dias del mes de mayo año del nascimiento de nuestro señor Jesuchristo de mill e quinientos e syete años en presençia de mi anton lorenço de herrera escriuano de la Reyna nuestra señora e su notario publico

en la su corte e en todos los sus Reynos e señorios e vno de los del numero de la noble çibdad de palençia e de los testigos de yuso escritos el bachiller alonso Ruyz contador de cuentas de la Reyna nuestra señora mostro e presento una çedula señalada de los señores de su muy alto consejo e vna casta mensagera del señor dottor carvajal del consejo de su alteza e dixo que mandava e mandava e mando a mi el dicho escriuano que Resçibiese çierta ynformacion que los dichos señores mandavan Resçebir sobre lo contheuido en la dicha çedula e carta por quanto complia al serviçio de su alteza que se hiziese secretamente e ante escriuano que el quisiese elegir lo qual me mandava e mando so pena de diez mill mrs. para la camara e fisco de la Reyna nuestra señora e que para que yo fuese çertificado que las dichas señales de la dicha cedula son de los dichos señores quel estava presto de dar çierta e verdadera ynformaçion su tenor de las quales dicha çedula e carta es este que se sigue.

'Bachiller alonso Ruiz Jues e pesquisidor de la villa de medina del campo el señor dottor carvajal del consejo de la Reyna nuestra señora vos escriuira de nuestra parte sobre çierta perquisa e otras cosas que aveys de haser conviene que luego entendais en ello y lo hagays como el dotor vos lo escrive y de vos se espera que lo hareys de antyguedad a honze de mayo de quynientos e syete años.' En la qual dicha cedula estan çinco señales e firmas hechas en çierta forma.

'Muy virtuoso señor: aqui se ha sabido quel corregidor sarmiento dixo ay algunas palabras de la Reyna doña ysabel nuestra señora que aya santa gloria y del señor Rey don fernando su marido, diçiendo que ella estava en el ynfierno y ques venia a Robar este Reyno. Estos señores vos mandanque muy secretamente hagays la pesquisa de lo que ha pasado y gela enbies cerrada e sellada al liçençiado moxica mencomendo que vos escribiese que le buscasedes una mula a mi me hares merçed tanbien en ello y entiendese que no aves de poner de vuestra casa syno el trabajo y quedo señor a lo que mandardes el dottor carvajal y en el sobrescrito de la dicha carta dezia: al virtuoso señor el bachiller alonso Ruiz juez e pesquisidor de la villa de medina del campo e dezia en el sobrescrito de la dicha çedula de los dichos señores: al bachiller alonso Ruyz jues e pesquisidor de medina del campo.'

E luego yo el dicho escriuano dixe que por quanto me paresçia ser la causa secreta e las señales e firmas de la dicha çedula de los

señores liçençiado tello e liçençiado moxica e dottor carvajal e liçençiado santiago e liçençiado polanco que por Reverençia e acatamiento de los dichos señores que dandome ynformaçion de ser asi çiertamente suyas las dichas señales e firmas de la dicha cedula questava presto de haser lo quel dicho alonso Ruyz contador por virtud de la dicha çedula me mandava testigos que fueron presentes a lo que dicho es el liçençiado hernando de sahagund e el bachiller pero ordoñez de pampliga e Rodrigo de amor criado del dicho liçençiado sahagund e juan descobar su hijo del dicho liçençiado.

E luego el dicho alonso Ruyz contador suso dicho dixo que para que yo el dicho escriuano fuese certificado de ser aquellas las firmas y señales de los dichos señores del consejo que ante mi Resçibiria e Resçibio juramento del dicho liçençiado sahagun pesquisidor e del bachiller de panpliga que presentes estavan los quales luego encontinente juraron en forma debida de derecho por dios nuestro señor e por santa maria e por la señal de la cruz en que pusieron sus manos derechas e por las palabras de los santos evangelios segun forma de derecho que bien e lealmente diran la verdad de lo que supiesen e les fuese preguntado e syendoles hechada la confusyon del dicho juramento ellos e cada uno dellos dixeron e Respondieron y juro e amen e lo que dixeron e declararon siendoles mostrada la cedula original de los dichos señores e vyendola e leyendola e las firmas dellas es lo syguyente.

El dicho liçençiado hernando de sahagund testigo jurado en forma dixo que conoçe a la primera señal e firma de la dicha çedula se del señor liçençiado tello e la segunda del liçençiado moxica e la tercera del dottor carvajal e la quarta del liçençiado santiago e la quinta del liçençiado polanco e que lo sabe por que muchas veces ha visto las dichas firmas e señales en muchas cartas e provisiones de la Reyna nuestra señora e por que las tiene agora en provision e comision que tiene para el alboroto acaesçido en esta villa que esta presentada ante mi el dicho escriuano questa es la verdad so cargo del dicho juramento e firmolo de su nombre liçençiado sahagund.

El dicho bachiller de panpliga testigo jurado e preguntado dixo que conosçe las firmas conthenidas en la dicha çedula original que le fue mostrada que son de los señores del consejo de la Reyna nuestra señora e que la primera firma es del liçençiado tello e la segunda del liçençiado moxica e la tercera del dottor carvajal e la quarta del liçençiado santiago e la quinta del liçençiado polanco e

que lo sabe por que este testigo ha visto muchas firmas de los dichos señores en cartas e provisiones de la Reyna nuestra señora asi cometidas a este testigo como a otras personas e que es asy verdad so cargo del dicho juramente e firmolo de su nonbre el bachiller panpliga.

Vista la ynformacion susodicha de los dichos testigos como la dicha çedula era señalada de los señores del consejo de la Reyna nuestra señora e que aquellas sus firmas e señales yo el dicho escriuano digo que estoy presto de conplir lo quel dicho bachiller alonso Ruyz de parte de los dichos señores me mandava e mando testigos los susodichos.

E luego en continente el dicho bachiller alonso Ruyz en presençia de mi el dicho escriuano e testigos de yuso escritos reçibio juramento en forma debida de derecho de los dichos aluaro de mercado e francisco cuello e de cada vno dellos por dios nuestro señor e por santa maria e por la señal de la cruz que con sus manos derechas tocaron e por las palabras de los santos evangelios do quier que mas verdaderamente estan escritos que bien e leal e verda deramente sin arte e syn engaño dirian la verdad de lo que supiesen e les fuese preguntado en este caso sobre quel dicho bachiller en nombre de los dichos señores quiere dellos aver ynformaçion e que no la dexaran de deçir por amor themor ni desamor ni por otra causa que a ello les mueva e siendoles hecha la confession del dicho juramento dixeron e Respondieron sy juro e amen e lo que los dichos testigos dixeron e depusieron so virtud del dicho juramento es lo siguiente testigos los susodichos.

Testigos.—E luego el dicho alonso Ruyz bachiller susodicho mostro secreta e apartadamente al dicho alvaro de mercado la carta original del señor dottor carvajal que enbio al dicho bachiller alonso Ruyz a que los dichos señores del consejo se Referian, e leyda e vista la dicha carta por el dicho aluaro de mercado dixo so virtud del dicho juramento que lo que sabe deste caso es que en el mes de setienbre que paso del año pasado de quinientos e seys años estando el Rey don felipe que santa gloria aya e la Reyna nuestros señores en la villa de valladolid este testigo viniendo de fuera llego a ver e hablar a garçi sarmyento corregidor desta villa de medina como a corregidor que es e que estando ablando con el este testigo e aluaro de lugo Regidor de la dicha villa e el liçençiado vargas e francisco mercado sobre ciertas cosas oyo e vio dezir al dicho garçi sarmyento

co Regidor que la Reyna nuestra señora doña ysabel que dios tiene en su gloria estaua en el ynfierno por tener opresos los ombres e queste testigo le dixo que sy la Reyna nuestra señora no estaua en el parayso que este testigo no entendia yr alla e quel dicho aluaro de lugo viendo sobresalio tanto al dicho corregidor le aparto por que no dixere mas palabras e que asy mesmo a vydo dezir a algunas personas que avia dicho el dicho co-Regidor en Regimiento e fuera del quel Rey don hernando era Robador e que sy benia a estos Reynos que todo el Reyno hera Robado fue preguntado por el dicho bachiller a que personas oyo lo susodicho dixo que lo oyo desir a francisco cuello vesyno desta dicha villa e questa es la verdad so cargo del dicho juramento e firmolo de su nombre aluaro de mercado.

Testigos.—El dicho francisco cuello testigo jurado e preguntado siendole mostrada la dicha carta del dicho señor dotor carvajal dixo que lo que sabe deste caso es que estando un dia con el co-Regidor garçi sarmiento en su posada por el mes de setiembre que agora paso del año pasado de quinientos e seys años estando con el dicho co-Regidor muchas personas que eran algunas Regidores e el escriuano de conçejo e otras ablando en la Reyna doña ysabel nuestra señora que santa gloria aya el dicho co-Regidor dixo que la Reyna doña ysabel estava en el ynfierno por thener muchos opresos que no thenian culpa e contra justiçia e questo fue en el dicho mes de setienbre estando el Rey e la Reyna nuestros señores en valladolid e que casy a la sazon en el dicho mes estando el dicho co-Regidor en las casas de Regimiento baxando de los estrados de lo publico para se yr a lo secreto estando presentes asaz Regidores e el escriuano de conçejo e otras personas baxando ablando en el Rey don hernando de los dichos estrados oyo desyr al dicho co-Regidor quel señor Rey don hernando hera un tirano Robador e que sy estubiera en estos Reynos que todo lo Robara e questa es la verdad so cargo del dicho juramento e que otras cosas de esta calidad oyo dezir que habia dicho el dicho co-Regidor e firmolo de su nombre francisco cuello.

E despues de lo susodicho en la dicha villa de medina del campo a diez e nueve dias del mes de mayo del dicho año en presençia de mi el dicho escriuano e testigos de yuso escritos el dicho bachiller alonso Ruyz mando jurar e desir su dicho e dipusiçion a cristoval sanz de medina procurador mostrando le la çedula

original de los señores del consejo el qual oyo e dixo que por acatamiento e Reverençia de sus merçedes queria hazer lo que de su parte le hera mandado, e luego el dicho bachiller alonso Ruyz Resçibio del juramento en forma debida de derecho, so virtud del qual dixo lo syguyente testigos que fueron presentes a lo que dicho es el liçençiado sahagund pesquisidor e juan descobar su hijo.

Testigo.—El dicho cristoval sanz procurador testigo jurado e preguntado çerca de lo contenydo en la dicha çedula e carta dixo que por agosto o por setiembre del año pasado de quynientos e seys años poco mas o menos tienpo estando en la carçel publica desta villa de paso garçi sarmiento co-Regidor desta dicha villa vido e oyo quel dicho garçi sarmiento desia questos Reynos avian sido muy mal governados e que creya que la Reyna doña ysabel segun su mala governaçion que estaua en el ynfierno e quel Rey de Aragon con ella nunca hazia syno Robar e desypar estos Reynos que era muy tirano ombre e que otras veses hablaua otras cosas desta calidad contra sus altesas e que nunca hablaua bien dellos e que estauan presentes a la sazon francisco de mercado escriuano e aluaro de lugo e que a francisco de mercado escriuano le peso mucho dello e se le boluyo la color e que tanbien le peso a este testigo e que Respondiera syno fuera porque era justiçia e por esto no oso e callo e que tanbien ha visto quel bachiller maldonado alcalde del dicho co-Regidor dize algunas cosas contra el señor Rey don hernando diziendo que nunca aca verna ny el diablo aca le traya e que nunca habla bien de su altesa e questa es la verdad de lo que vyo e oyo so cargo del dicho juramento e firmolo de su nombre e dixo que lo del bachiller maldonado es publico e notorio en esta dicha villa e fuele leydo su dicho e dixo que asy era verdad como esta asentado cristoval sanz de medina.

E despues de lo susodicho el dicho dia diez e nueue de mayo de dicho año el dicho bachiller alonso Ruyz dixo que mandava e mando a mi el dicho escriuano so la pena que thenya puesta que le diese la dicha ynformaçion que ante mi avya hecho escrita en limpio çe Rada e sellada e synada con my syguo para la presentar ante los señores del consejo de la Reyna nuestra señora de my parte e por cuyo mandado avya avydo la dicha ynformaçion e me la mandava dase que sy asy lo hiziese que haria lo que haria lo que devia en otra manera que protestaua lo que protestar devia e que Rogava a los presentes que fueren dello testigos que por ser la

causa secreta no podia Requerirme ante otro escrinano e yo el dicho escriuano digo que estoy presto de le dar la dicha ynformaçion escrita en limpio ee Rada e sellada e sygnado con my sygno pagandome my justo e devido salario testigos que fueron presentes a lo que dicho es Rogados e llamados para ello e vyeron hazer el dicho pedimyento al dicho alonso Ruyz contador de quentas de su altesa el liçençiado de sahagun pesquisidor a la sazon en la dicha villa e juan descobar su hijo e francisco Ruyz veçino de la dicha villa de medina del campo el bachiller alonso Ruyz. E yo el dicho anton lorenço de herrera escriuano e notario publico suso dicho presente fue a todo lo que dicho es e de mandamiento del dicho bachiller alonso Ruyz por virtud de la dicha çedula e carta de los señores del consejo de su altesa que presente fue a todo lo que dicho es juntamente con los dichos testigos e saque esta ynformaçion del original que en my poder queda lo qual va escrito en estas tres hojas e una plana de papal de pliego entero con esta en que va my syno eençima de cada plana van tres Rayas e debaxo de cada vna va my Rubrica e firma acostumbrada e va en la margen do diz aqui firmo su nonbre vala e no enperca e porende fize aqui este my signo en testimonyo de verdad. Anton lorenço de herrera.

aqui firmo su nombre.

Arch. grăl. Sim. Est. Leg. 1º folio 192 ; *Op. Epist. Pet. Mart.* Ep. 279.

7. Fernando to Henry, Nov. 26, 1504 ; Fernando to Puebla, June 22, 1505 ; Quirini Correspondence, xlix. 2.

ELEVENTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.—1. *State Papers of Henry the Eighth*, vii. 121, 129, 161.

2. Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, Dec. 13, 1502, June 26, 1504; Puebla to Fernando and Isabel, Dec. 5, 1504.

3. Henry to Catharine, Aug. 4, 1504 ; Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, June 26, 1504; Puebla to Fernando and Isabel, Dec. 5, 1504 ; *Mem. Hen. Sev.* 268, 412.

4. Catharine to Fernando, Nov. 26, 1504.

5. Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, Aug. 10, Dec. 13, 1502 ; June 26, 1504; Isabel to Estrada, April 11, 1503.

6. Isabel to Puebla, Sep. 30, 1502.

7. Estrada to Isabel, Aug. 10, 1504; Green, *Princesses of England*, v. 3.

CHAP. II.—1. Estrada to Isabel, Aug. 10, 1504.

2. Henry to Catharine, Aug. 4, 1504; Estrada to Isabel, Aug. 10, 1504; Puebla to Fernando and Isabel, Oct. 23, 1504.

3. Fernando and Isabel to Estrada, June 26, 1504; Estrada to Isabel, Aug. 10, 1504.

4. Isabel to Puebla, Aug. 10, 1502; April 11, 1503; Puebla to Fernando and Isabel, Oct. 23, 1504; Catharine to Fernando, Dec. 15, 1505.

5. Puebla to Fernando and Isabel, Oct. 23, 1504.

6. Henry to Catharine, Aug. 4, 27, 1504; Estrada to Isabel, Aug. 10, 1504.

CHAP. III.—1. Catharine to Fernando, Nov. 26, 1504; Catharine to Isabel, Nov. 26, 1504.

2. Fernando to Henry, Nov. 26, 1504.

3. Giglis to Henry, Mar. 17, 1505; Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. xxx. c. 1; Mariana, *Hist. de Esp.* lib. xxviii. c. 12.

4. Fernando to Estrada, Sep. 24, 1503; Isabel to Estrada, Oct. 3, 1503; Henry's Proclamation, Mar. 12, 1505.

5. Speed, *Chronicles*, 973; Herbert, *Life and Reign of Henry the Eighth*, 7, 8, 216.

6. Puebla to Fernando and Isabel, Oct. 23, Dec. 5, 1504, Catherine to Fernando, Nov. 26, 1504; Catharine to Puebla, Mar. 24, 1505.

CHAP. IV.—1. Catharine to Puebla, March 24, 1505.

2. Quirini to the Signory, March 30, 31; April 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 1505; Giovio, *Vit. Mag. Gonsal.* 275–7; *Op. Epist. Pet. Mart.* Ep. 290, 291; Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. xxx. c. 1; Mariana, *Hist. de Esp.* lib. xxviii. c. 12.

3. Instructions and Reports of Francis Marsin and others with respect to Ferdinand, King of Aragon, in 1505, items 15, 18; Clemencin, *Elogio de la Reina Catolica*, vi. 499; Zurita, *Anales*, v. lib. 5, c. 84.

4. My Note-book; La Suma de los abtos que fisieron los pro-

curadores de las cortes de las cibdades e villas destos Reynos estando juntos en las cortes generales que se fizieron en la cibdad de Toro, este año de 1505; Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. xxx. c. 1; Mariana, *Hist. Esp.* lib. xxviii. c. 12; Bernaldez, *Reyes Catolicos*, c. 200.

5. Fernando to Puebla, June 22, 1505; Quirini to the Signory, Dec. 20, 1505, March 30, April 4, 16, 1506.

6. Puebla to Fernando, Aug. 11, 1505; Quirini to the Signory, Sep. 5, 1505; Fernando to Henry, November 9, 1507; Lopez to Manoel, Oct. 10, 1505; Lopez, the Portuguese minister, speaking of Henry, says:—'E trata muy secretamente nesta casa seu filho princesse de Gallez com a filha mayor del Rej Felipe, com a qual dias ha que foy tratado e prometido, quamdo o cardeal ca veyo perao dito dalfym, e que doca collor de desfayer o casamento da Infanta dona Catarina, por que ho ha por mujto carrego de comcjemcia.'

7. Catharine to Henry, Aug. 17, 1505; Puebla to Fernando, Aug. 11, 12, 17, 1505; Quirini to the Signory, July 26, 1505.

CHAP. V.—1. Catharine to Henry, Aug. 17, 1505; Puebla to Fernando, Aug. 12, 17.

2. Puebla to Fernando, Aug. 11, 1505; *Epistola Regum Scotorum*, i. 11; *Letters and Papers*, i. 269; Napier, *Hist. Not. of Swyncombe and Ewelme*, 162 *et seq.*; Ellis, *Original Letters*, Third Series, i. 115–132.

3. Puebla to Fernando, Aug. 12, 17, 1505; Quirini to the Signory, Aug. 1, Sept. 7, 1505.

4. Puebla to Fernando, Aug. 17, 1505.

5. Puebla to Fernando, Aug. 17, 1505.

6. Catharine to Henry, Aug. 17, 1505; Puebla to Fernando Aug. 17, 1505.

CHAP. VI.—1. Quirini to the Signory, Mar. 30, 1506; *Narrative of the Reception of Philip, King of Castile, in England, in* 1506; Bergenroth, *Sup. to Spanish State Papers*, Int. xxxiv. 73–4.

2. Henry to Cardinal Adriano, Feb. 18, 1506; Quirini to the Signory, Jan. 23, 30, Mar. 30, 1506; *Reception of Philip in* 1506; Tighe, *Annals of Windsor*, i. 434–40.

3. Ellis, *Original Letters*, Third Series, i. 117–123, 202–208;

Napier, *Hist. Not. Suryn. and Ewelme*, c. x.; Extract from Sanuto Diaries, Oct. 6, 1506.

4. Pole's Commission to treat with Hen. VII. Jan. 24, 1506; Pole's Instructions to treat with Hen. VII. Jan. 28, 1506.

5. Toison d'Or to Maximilian, Oct. 31, 1606; Quirini to the Signory, Oct. 27, 1505, July 11, 23, 1506; *Reception of Philip in* 1506; Bacon, *Works*, v. 231.

6. Traité de Mariage, 2 Avril, 1503; *Reception of Philip in* 1506.

7. *Documents originaux de l'Histoire de France*, 315, 316; Martin, *Hist. de France*, viii. 439; Auton, *Histoire de Louis XII.* 1–7.

8. Extract from Sanuto Diaries, i. 295, 317, v. 209; Quirini to the Signory, March 8, 1505, March 17, 27, 30, July 11, 1506; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. iv. c. 5.

CHAP. VII.—1. Bergenroth, *Supplement to the Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, i. 73; Seyssel, *Histoire de Louis XII.* 223–9; Martin, *Histoire de France*, viii. 440; Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. xxx. c. 1; Mariana, *Hist. España*, lib. xxviii. c. 13.

2. Quirini to the Signory, July 23, 1506; Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. xxx. c. 1; Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique*, iv. 40, 72; Bernaldez, *Reyes Catolicos*, c. 202; Mariana, *Historia de España*, lib. xxiv. c. 19; Baudier, *Hist. Adm. Card. d'Amboise*, 133.

3. Quirini to the Signory, March 30, April 13, 1506; Bergenroth, *Sup. Sp. Pap.* Int. xxxiv. 75–7; Bernaldez, *Reyes Catolicos*, c. 203.

4. Bergenroth, *Sup. Sp. Pap.* 78–9.

5. Bergenroth, *Sup. Sp. Pap.* 80.

6. Zurita, *Anales*, vi. lib. vii. c. 14; *Opus Epist. Pet Mart.* Ep. 313; Mariana, *Hist. España*, lib. xxviii, cap. 23; Giannone, *Istoria de Napoli*, lib. xxx. c. 1; Auton, *Histoire de Louis XII.* 290.

CHAP VIII.—1. Fernando to Catharine, March, 1507; Catharine to Fernando, July 17, 1507.

2. Instructions and Report of Francis Marsin and others with respect to the Queen of Naples, 1505; Catharine to Fernando, July 17, 1505.

3. Fernando to Catharine, March, 1507; Catharine to Juana,

Oct. 25, 1507; Fernando to Catharine, March 15, 1507; Bergenroth, *Sup. Span. St. Papers*, 87.

4. Fernando to Puebla, Jan. July, 1508; Bergenroth, *Sup. Span. St. Pap.* 141-146; Mariana, *Historia de Espana*, lib. xxix. c. 3, 5, 7.

5. Catharine to Fernando, April 15, Sep. 7, Oct. 4, 1507; Puebla to Almazan, Sep. 7, 1507.

6. Catharine to Fernando, April 15, 1507; Johannes to Fernando, April 15, 1507; Catharine to Fernando, Oct. 4, 1507;

7. Catharine to Fernando, Sep. 7, Oct. 4, 1507.

CHAP. IX.—1. Catharine to Fernando, Oct. 4, 1507; Catharine to Juana, Oct. 25, 1507.

2. Catharine to Fernando, July 18, 1507; Catharine to Juana, Oct. 25, 1507.

3. Fernando to Puebla, Jan. (?), 1508.

4. Catharine to Fernando, Oct. 4, 1507; Fernando to Guter Gomez, July (?), Aug. 7, 1508.

5. Marriage Treaty of Henry and Max, Dec. 31, 1507; Treaty of Peace between Henry and Max, Dec. 21, 1507.

6. Fabyan, *Chronicle*, 690; Bacon, *Works*, vi. 207; Henry to Catharine, Sep. 7, 1507; Puebla to Fernando, Oct. 5, 1537.

7. Will of Hen. VII., Richmond, March 31, 1509, orig. in Record Office; Institutiones et Statuta Hospitalis de Savoy, Cott. MSS. Cleop. c. v. art. 1; Fabyan, *Chronicle*, 690.

TWELFTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.—1. Carvajal, *Documentos Ineditos*, xviii. 324; Zurita, *Rey Hernando*, lib. viii. c. 32; Betham, *Genealogical Tables*, 229, 257, 408, 607; Anderson, *Royal Genealogies*, 462, 624, 702, 714.

2. Carvajal, *Documentos ineditos*, xviii. 322; *Cartas del Cardenal Don Fray Francisco Jmenez de Cisneros dirigides à Don Diego Lopez de Ayala* (Madrid, 1867), 27; Report of Marsin, 1505, items 4, 5; Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, ib. vii. c. 3; Giovio, *Vit. Mag. Gonsal.* 280-6; Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. xxx. c. 1.

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Adm. Card. d'Amboise, 197, 230; Mariana, *Hist. Esp.* lib. xxix. c. 6; Provost of Cassel to Margaret of Savoy, June 20, 1508.

4. Sanuto, Diaries, vi. 283; Tommasi, *Vie de Cesar Borgia*, ii. 328, 329; Baudier, *Hist. Adm. Card. d'Amboise*, 235, 240.

5. Carvajal, *Documentos ineditos*, xviii. 322; Zurita, *Rey Hernando*, lib. x. cap. 55; Almazan to Catharine, May 18, 1509.

6. Fernando to his Ambassador going into England, *Spanish Calendar*, ii. p. 1–60; Carvajal, *Doc. ined.* xviii. 323.

7. Fernando to Guter, May 11, 1509; Fernando to Henry VIII. May 11, 1509; Fernando to Catharine, May 11, 1509; Carvajal, *Doc. ined.* xviii. 323.

CHAP. II.—1. Fernando to his Ambassador going into England, *Spanish Calendar*, ii. 1–14; Bergenroth, *Sup. Span. Cal.* 24, 25.

2. Bergenroth, *Sup. Sp. Cal.* 13–16.

3. Bergenroth, *Sup. Sp. Cal.* 16, 27, 28.

4. Bergenroth, *Sup. Span. Cal.* 18, 19, 28, 33.

5. Bergenroth, *Sup. Span. Cal.* 23–27.

6. Bergenroth, *Sup. Span. Cal.* 33.

7. Fernando to Guter, May 11, 1509.

CHAP. III.—1. Chieregato to Isabella d'Este, July 10, 1517; Sagudino to Foscari, June 6, 1515; Sagudino to Foscari, June 20, 1517; Sanuto Diaries, May 14, 1510; Giustinian, *Report of England*, Sep. 10, 1519; Ellis, *Orig. Letters*, Third Series, iii. 210–11.

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3. Chieregato to Isabella d'Este, July 10, 1517; Ferrara to the State, Oct. 7, 1513; Giustinian to the Signory, Sep. 30, 1516; Chieregato to Mantua, May 28, 1517; Sagudino to Foscari, June 6, 1515; Ellis, *Original Letters*, Second Series, i. 272, Third Series, ii. 47-52; Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, i. 56.

4. Estrada to Isabel, Aug. 10, 1504; Charles Brandon to Marguerite of Savoy, Cott. MSS. Titus B. i. 142; De Plaine to Maximilian, June 19, 1514; Giustinian, *Report of England*, Sep. 10, 1519.

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CHAP. IV.—1. King Henry VIII. and Catharine Princess of Wales; the formal words pronounced at their wedding, June 3, 1509; Herbert, *Life and Reign of Henry*, 2–7.

2. Catharine to Fernando, March 9, 1509.

3. Henry, Prince of Wales, Protestation against his Marriage, June 27, 1505.

4. Catharine to Fernando, April 15, 1507.

5. Fernando to Catharine, May 14, 1509; Catharine to Fernando, April 15, 1507.

6. Fernando to Guter, May 11, 1509.

CHAP. V.—1. Fernando to Guter, May 11, 1509; Fernando to Catharine, May 14, 1509.

2. Fernando to Guter, May 11, 14, 1509; Genealogies prefixed to *State Papers of Henry VIII.* vol. i.

3. Fernando to Guter, May 11, 14, 1509.

4. James IV. to Dacres, July 18, 1512; Sanuto Diaries, June 8, 1512; Herbert, *Life and Reign of Henry*, 7, 216.

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7. Henry VII. Treaty with Maximilian and Charles, Dec. 21, 1507; Fernando to Guter, Aug. 7, 1538.

8. Dispensation of Julius II. Dec. 26, 1503; Hall, *Triumphant Reign of Henry VIII.* fol. 2; Hook, *Arch. Cant.* N. S. i. 196.

CHAP. VI.—1. Heron's Accounts, June 17, 1509

2. Proclamation of Hen. VIII. April 23, 1509; Villaragut to Fernando, May 29, 1510; Villaragut to Almazan, May 29, 1510.

3. Old Prints in the Gardner Collection; Patent to Sir John Peeche, 17 May, 1509; Catharine, Renunciation of her Dowry, Rymer, xiii. 251; Lysons, *Environs of London*, i. 478.

4. *Codex redactus legum Fratrum Minorum, Romæ*, 1796; Brewer, *Monumenta Franciscana*, Pref. xii. et seq.; Butler, *Lives of Saints*, ii. 569–86.

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6. Heron's Accounts, June 17, 1507; Henry to Marguerite of Austria, June 25, 1509; Henry's acknowledgment of part dowry June 11, 1509; Carvajal, *Documentos ineditos*, xviii. 323.

CHAP. VII.—1. Heron's Account Book, June 17, 1509; Pole's Warrant, June 18, 1509.

2. Warrants, June 10, 1509; *Pat. Rolls*, 1 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 8.

3. Warrant to Edward, Duke of Buckingham, June 10, 1509; Warrant to Thomas, Earl of Surrey, June 10, 1509; Ellis, *Original Letters*, Second Series, i. 170–6.

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5. Henry to Fernando, July 17, 26, 1509; *London Pageants* (London, 1831), Int. 7; Hall, *Triumphant Reign of Henry VIII.* fol. 8.

6. Henry to Fernando, July 26, 1509.

INDEX.

Aachen, Edmond de la Pole finds a refuge at the court of Maximilian in, ii. 115, 121–128, 146; on Edmond's departure from, his brother Richard detained as a hostage, 243

Abadia, Juan de, his noble birth and great wealth, i. 7; takes a high place among the Friends of Light, *ib.*; arrangements for the assassination of the inquisitor Arbues intrusted to him, 26, 27; is taken prisoner and commits suicide, 69

Abd-allah, Caliph, his capture by Count de Cabra, i. 2; Fernando's treacherous conduct towards him, 83; prevents Az-zaghal relieving Malaga when besieged by Fernando, 87; is induced by Gonsalvo to yield Granada to Fernando, 236; articles of his surrender, *ib.*; leaves Granada for the Alpujarras, *ib.*; scornful remark made to him by his sultana, 237

Aboab, Rabbi, his appeal to Isabel for mercy to the Jews, i. 242; his kind reception by King John of Portugal, 284; is expelled from Portugal by King Manoel, 297

Abravanel, Isaac, a Friend of Light, i. 5; his wealth and learning, 5, 236; his high position among the Jews, *ib.*; leaves Portugal at King Affonzo's death, *ib.*; assistance rendered by him to Fernando, *ib.*; his influence at court, 22; pleads in vain for mercy towards the victims of the Inquisition, 91; his appeal on behalf of the Jews how received by Fernando and Isabel, 243; his departure from Spain, 244, 245

Abu Obeyd-illah, his description of Andalus, i. 78

Adriano de Castello. *See* Castello.

Affinity, questions of degrees of, ii. 145

Affonzo, Dom, King of Portugal, espouses the cause of his niece Juana against Fernando and Isabel, i. 55, 56; invades Spain, *ib.*; is defeated, and sues for peace, 56, 57

Affonzo, son of John the Perfect, King of Portugal, espoused to Isabel, the daughter of Fernando and Isabel, i. 57; his marriage, 283; his death, *ib.*

Alagon, Blasco de, a Friend of Light, i. 6; takes a leading part in the assassination of Arbues, 26

Alcala, its history and renown, i. 64; Fernando and family, fleeing from Cordova, take up their residence in Mendoza's house in, *ib.*; Ximenes establishes his printing-press at, 64, 65; Cervantes born at, 65; college of San Ildefonso at, *ib.*; Princess Catharine born in, 70; prolonged contest between Mendoza and the mayor of, respecting her, 74–76

Alessandro, Padre. *See* Geraldino.

Alexander II., Pope, assistance rendered by him to Fernando in procuring the spurious papal dispensation, i. 39, ii. 162, 179; letter to him from the Duchess Margaret, craving his espousal of the cause of Richard Duke of York, i. 263; grants a divorce to Louis of France from his wife Jeanne de France, ii. 75; allies himself to France, 84, 93; gives his daughter Lucrezia Borgia in marriage to Alfonzo d'Este, 93; Rojas commissioned by Fernando to ask him for a bull permitting the espousals of Henry and Catharine, 155, 163; his unscrupulous conduct, 160; burns Savanarola, 161; his acts of simony and bloodshed, 161–164; sells indulgences, 162; dies through drink-

ing poisoned wine prepared by him for the Cardinal Adriano, 166, 167
Alhama, loss of, by the Caliph Hassan, i. 79
Alhambra, residence of the Moorish kings, attacked by Fernando, i. 83; magnificence of the palace of, 235, 248; Princess Catharine reared at, 246–252; its court of lions, 249
Aljaferia, the palace of the kings of Aragon, i. 34, 36, 42, 63, 93, ii. 81, 89; the inquisitors take up their residence in, i. 77
Almazan, private secretary of Fernando, ii. 56, 260
Alonzo, Don, brother of Enrique IV., is set up by the Dominicans as a competitor of the crown, i. 51; his death, *ib.*
Alonzo, Don, Archbishop, a natural son of Fernando, i. 19; his conduct after the murder of Arbues, 28; witnesses the shameful punishment of Don Jaime in the cathedral of La Seo, 69
Alonzo, brother to Gonsalvo de Cordova, is sent to quel the insurrection of the Moors in the Red Sierras, i. 340; rout of his army and his death, 341
Alpujarras, risings of the Moors in, i. 339, 340
Amantes de las Luces. *See* Friends of Light.
Amboise, George d', Cardinal of Rouen, advises King Louis to sign the treaty of Granada for dividing the kingdom of Naples with Fernando, ii. 58, 59; his ambition to be raised to the Papal chair, 58, 168, 171; means adopted by him to procure from the Borgias the divorce of King Louis from Jeanne de France, 75; arrangements entered into by him when Rovere was elected Pope, 172; secretly supports Cesare Borgia, 180; thwarts Fernando in the matter of the betrothal of Catharine to Henry, 182, 183; advises the entrance of the French into Italy, 194
Andalus, description of, by Salami and Abu Obeyd-illah, i. 77, 78
André, Prince Arthur's tutor, i. 303, ii. 3
Andreas, Fray, on the value of confession to a priest, i. 251; his cruel treatment of the Princess Juana, 292, 293
Angulo, Dr., legal opinion given by him, on the marriage articles of the Princess Catharine, ii. 135
Anne, Madame, sister of King Charles of France, her objections to the overtures of Fernando and Isabel that Charles should marry their daughter Isabel, i. 102, 103; opposes the design of Charles to marry Anne of Bretagne, 212
Anne of Bretagne, daughter of Francois IV., duke of Bretagne, assistance rendered to her by English troops against the French, i. 196–198; her personal appearance, 197; her numerous suitors, 197–199; her repugnance to D'Albret, 199; King Maximilian seeks her hand, 201, 202; signs a treaty of peace with King Charles, 212; Charles desires to marry her, *ib.*; Prince Juan put forward by Fernando as a candidate for her hand, 219; is secretly espoused to Maximilian, 220; takes the title of the Queen of the Romans, 222; is induced to cast off Maximilian, and marry King Charles, 226; articles of her marriage, 227; at the death of Charles is married to his successor Louis, ii. 75; her flight to Nantes after the defeat of the army of Louis at Garigliano, 197
Aragon, opposition by the Friends of Light to the establishment of the Inquisition in, i. 2, 18, 22, 25; sends a deputation to the King protesting against it, 22; and to the Pope, *ib.*; persecution of the Friends of Light in, 90–92; revival of the Santa Hermandad in, 90–94
Arbues, Pedro, appointed by Torquemada to establish the Inquisition in Aragon, i. 22; orders the arrest of several of the Friends of Light, 24; causes them to be burnt, 25; conspiracy against his life, *ib.*; is slain in the cathedral of La Seo

27, 28; excitement produced by his assassination, 28, 29; honours paid to his memory by Fernando and Isabel, 69
Ardek, Heinrich, Pole's hopes of assistance from him, ii. 120, 122
Arevalo, convent of, Isabel's residence in, i. 9, 51
Arthur, King, taken as a model by Henry VII. for his son Arthur, i. 130, 131, ii. 4, 7, 8, 10
Arthur, son of Henry VII., his birth at Winchester, i. 138; is seen by Puebla in his nursery, 158; articles of marriage between him and the Princess Catharine, 160–3, 168; is married by proxy at Bewdley manor by Bishop Smith, 352, 409, ii. 70; accompanies his father to Dogmersfield to see Catharine, i. 354; his first interview, 356; his weak constitution, 358; his marriage and its ceremonies, 370–372; ii. 1–3; his marriage settlements in St. Paul's, 2, 67; his honeymoon, 1–6; writes to Fernando on his matrimonial felicity, 5; his fading health, 6; leaves London for Ludlow, 20, 21, 43; his life at Ludlow Castle, 44–47; his sickness and death, 48; his lying in state, 69; his funeral procession from Ludlow to Worcester, 69, 70; his burial in Worcester Cathedral, 70; his chapel and tomb, 70, 101
Audley, Bishop of Salisbury, presides at the betrothal of the Princess Catharine with Prince Henry, ii. 199
Avila, convent of, built by Isabel to commemorate the establishment of the Inquisition in Castille, i. 16
Avila, Pedro, bearer of despatches from Isabel to Estrada, ii. 134, 135
Ayala, Pedro de, Spanish envoy to James, King of Scotland, his personal appearance and character, i. 312; his influence in the court of Scotland, *ib.*; his matrimonial proposals to the Scottish king, 317; his interviews with King Henry, 319; appointed ambassador at the English court, 320; proposes that Henry should give his daughter Margaret in marriage to the King of Scotland, *ib.*; his project of union of England and Scotland receives the support of Archbishop Morton, 331; appointed by the Scottish king his commissioner to King Henry, 334; his encounter with King Henry at Winchfield, 331; his description of the plate used at the marriage-feast of Prince Arthur, ii. 3; pays the first instalment of Catharine's dowry, 5, 6; his conduct with regard to Princess Catharine's plate and jewels, 17–20; his description of Scotland and its inhabitants, 23–28; on the amatory propensities of James IV., 34; his departure from England, 92
Az-zaghal, brother of the Caliph Hassan, defeats the Count de Cabra, i. 2; is invested by the troops with sovereign rank, 80; his bravery, 81; his contests with Abd-allah, *ib.*; his endeavours to raise the siege of Malaga prevented by Abd-allah, 85, 87.

Bacon, his romantic tale of Peter Warbeck, i. 256, 257
Bajazet, Sultan, his assistance sought by the Moors against Fernando, i. 86; remark by, on the expulsion of the Jews by Fernando from Spain, 245
Ballabar, his celebrity as a Moorish builder, i. 234, 235
Barbosa, Ayres de, i. 2, 3
Barons, Master of the Rolls, appointed one of the commissioners to consider the project of a marriage between the Princess Catharine and Prince Henry, ii. 144
Bayard heads the French knights at the tourney at Trana, ii. 110, 111
Baynard Castle, rebuilt by King Henry for Arthur and Catharine, i. 365, ii. 5; a favourite residence of Queen Elizabeth, ii. 105–112
Baza, assault and fall of, i. 238, 239
Benevente, Count de, assistance rendered by him to Cesare Borgia in his escape from Medina, ii. 282
Bereworth, physician, his anxiety re-

specting Prince Arthur's health, i. 358, ii. 3, 8, 47
Berwick, its possession a source of constant strife between England and Scotland, i. 307, ii. 42
Bethlehem Hospital, ii. 108
Bewdley Manor, private espousals between Arthur and Catharine performed at, i. 352, 409, ii. 72
Bibago, Abraham, the preceptor of Fernando, i. 34, 36, 43
'Bible-men,' a term of reproach in King Henry's reign, i. 155, 221, ii. 40
Blacater, Robert, archbishop of Glasgow, one of the Scottish embassy to contract a marriage between James IV. and the Princess Margaret, ii. 5
Blois, treaty of, ii. 254
Boleyn, Sir William, his family and career, i. 362, 363
Bologna, campanile of, i. 234
Borgia, Cesare, son of Pope Alexander VI., duke of Valentinois, joins France and Spain in their invasion of Naples, ii. 59; resigns his priesthood, 75; bribes received by him to procure a divorce of King Louis from his wife, Jeanne de France, *ib.*; his evil work in Rome, 81; his alliance with Louis, King of France, 90; is married to the sister of Jean d'Albret, king-consort of Navarre, 90, 162, 165; ravages Bologna and Perugia, 93; his crimes and rapacity, 160, 164, 165; his illness caused by partaking of the poison intended for Cardinal Adriano, 167; his possessions taken from him, 168; his opposition to Julius II., 175; is deceived by the promises of the Pope, 181; his position at the Vatican, 201; his promise to give up the Papal castles not fulfilled, 201; is induced to yield the cities by Carvajal, 202; goes to Naples, *ib.*; is arrested and sent to Spain, 204, 205; is imprisoned in Medina del Campo, 205; his escape, 279; loses his life before the fortress of Viana, 280
Borgia, Giovanni, ii. 75, 161
Borgia, Lucrezia, her infamous character, ii. 93; her marriage to Alfonzo d'Este, 93, 161
Bosworth Field, battle of, i. 115, 118, 137, 139
Bothwell, Earl of, one of the embassy from James IV. to Henry VII. ii. 5; acts as proxy for James IV. in his espousals with the Princess Margaret, 42
Boyd, Mary, and James IV. of Scotland, ii. 33
Boyl, Fray de, his unsuccessful mission to Charles, King of France, i. 102; accompanies Philip the Fair to France, ii, 139
Brandon and the Archduchess Marguerite, ii. 299
Bray, Sir Reginald, plans Henry VII.'s chapel in Westminster Abbey, i. 133, ii. 104; builds a chapel at Worcester Cathedral in honour of Prince Arthur, ii. 69
Bretagne, its position under King Francois, i. 175; is attacked by Charles, King of France, 175, 176; seeks for assistance from England, *ib.*; a truce concluded between it and France, 179, 180; is treacherously invaded by Charles, 180; death of Francois, *ib.*; its fortunes under the sway of the Duchess Anne, 196–217
Brett, Stephen, conducts the Spanish fleet, with the Princess Catharine on board, to port, i. 345
Bruges, revolution of its citizens against Maximilian, i. 157
Buckingham, Edward Duke of, one of the suitors of the Duchess Anne, i. 198; made High Constable of England on the accession of Henry VIII., ii. 319
Burgos, arrival of the English ambassadors, Savage and Nanfan, at, i. 182; marriage of Juan and Marguerite at, 296; Philip the Fair's sudden death at, ii. 263

Cabra, Count de, captures the Caliph Abd-allah, i. 2; is defeated by Az-zaghal, *ib.*; sent to England as one of the commissioners for the dowry of the Princess Catharine, 348; gives Catharine away at her marriage, 371; pays the first instal-

ment of her dowry, ii. 5, 6; departs from England, 20
Cabrera, Andreas de, his treacherous conduct, i. 54
Cade, Jack, destroys the Savoy Palace, ii. 106
Cañamares, Juan de, endeavours to assassinate Fernando at Barcelona, i. 253
Cardinals, privileges of, ii. 169, 170
Carillo, Alonzo, primate of Castille, and Archbishop of Toledo, his opposition to the designs of Isabel, i. 12; demands of Enrique the expulsion of the Moors and Jews, 50; his demand refused, he rebels against his sovereign, 51; his high position at the Spanish court, 74; his fall, *ib.*
Carlos, son of Philip and Juana, his birth, ii. 6; betrothed to Mary, daughter of King Henry, 111, 112, 251, 274, 285, 308; is also betrothed to Claude, the daughter of King Louis, 112, 139, 251, 253; his grandfather, Maximilian, assumes the direction of his education, 282
Carlos, Don, son of Juan II., king of Aragon, his noble qualities, i. 36; intrigues against him by his stepmother, *ib.*; his exile, return, and death, 37
Carlotta, Princess of Naples, married to Giovanni Borgia, ii. 75
Cartagena, Pedro de, i. 236
Carvajal induces Cesare Borgia to yield the Papal cities, ii. 202
Casa Blanca in Zaragoza, i. 4, 6, 22, 93
Castello, Adriano de, Cardinal of Corneto, his mission to England, i. 221; his great wealth, ii. 166; Pope Alexander's design against his life how frustrated, 167; acts as King Henry's agent at the Papal court, 183; his interview with Pope Julius, 184; his report to Rojas, 184, 185; rewards conferred on him by King Henry, 193
Castille, establishment of the Inquisition in the cities of, i. 13–17; Torquemada appointed Inquisitor-general in, 17; civil war in, after the death of Enrique, 53–56; the crown of, wrested from Juana by Fernando and Isabel, 56–60
Catalina. *See* Catharine of Aragon.
Cataluña, i. 21; its revolt from the King of Aragon, 37; revolt in, crushed by the assistance of the French, *ib.*; its possession coveted by Fernando, 191
Catharine of Navarre, refuses marriage with Prince Juan, i. 96; marries Jean d'Albret, 97
Catharine of Aragon, daughter of Isabel and Fernando, her birth at Mendoza's palace at Alcala, i. 70; her baptism by Mendoza, 71; contest respecting her between Mendoza and the mayor of Alcala, 73–76; articles of marriage between her and Prince Arthur, 168; is seen in her nursery by the English ambassadors, 189; is pledged to Prince Arthur, 192, 193; her home and life in Granada, 240; her residence at the Alhambra, 246–252; her tutor, 247; her education, 250; her ignorance of England, 251; her titles, *ib.*; is admitted by Ximenes to the order of St. Dominic, 302; has no knowledge of either the French or the English language, 303; her remorse at the death of the Earl of Warwick, 334; ratifies the contract of marriage with Arthur, 342; her departure from Spain and her arrival in England, 344; her warm reception, 346; her Spanish attendants, 347; is forbidden to raise her veil in public, 348; her triumphal procession through the English counties, 348, 349; her arrival at Dogmersfield, 354; her first interview with her father-in-law and Prince Arthur, 355, 356; her Spanish dances, *ib.*; rides to Chertsey Abbey, 358; her reception at Lambeth, 359; her first meeting with Henry, Duke of York, *ib.*; is taken charge of by the Archbishop of Canterbury, 364; is conducted by Prince Henry to the bishop's palace, St. Paul's, 368, 369; her bridals, 370–372; popular rejoicings, 373, 374; her honeymoon, ii. 1–6; her plate and jewels, 7–13; her journey to Ludlow, 20; sickness and death of

her husband, 47, 48; her days of widowhood, 49, 73; plot concocted by her parents to contract her to Henry, Duke of York, 59; letter of condolence to her from them, 62; difficulties respecting the payment of her dowry, 67, 68; her departure from Ludlow Castle, 70; kindness of the Queen to her, *ib.*; her reception by the people from Ludlow to London, 70, 71; Durham House and Croydon Park granted to her as residences, 71, 72; contentions in her household, 75, 76, 221; her betrothal to Prince Henry, 199; her life at Croydon Park, 217–222; her letters to and from her parents, 220; her occasional visits to the royal palaces, 222; decline of her health, 222, 223; the King's kindness towards her, 224; difficulty of ascertaining her position, 225; her want of liberty, *ib.*; her enmity towards Puebla, 225, 226, 268, 270; her sickness, 227; her letters to her mother, 228; her dismay at her betrothal being denounced by Prince Henry as null and void, 232, 233; the low state of her finances, *ib.*; her appeal for assistance to King Henry, 234; is misled by Puebla and Elvira, 239, 240; plans a meeting of King Henry and Philip near Calais, 242; is constrained by Puebla to ask Henry not to meet her brother-in-law, 245, 246; her meeting with her sister Juana at Richmond Palace, 249; writes to her father furthering the project of a marriage between King Henry and her widowed sister Juana, 266; her father's answer, *ib.*; is informed by King Henry that her contract with his son has been broken off, 268; her agony in consequence, *ib.*; her letter to her father and his answers, 269, 271, 274; her father sends her formal letters as ambassadress, 271; her excited interview with King Henry, *ib.*; her letters to Juana in favour of King Henry, 272; influence over her possessed by her confessor Diego, 288–291; defends Diego against the accusations of Don Guter, 294, 295; low state of her spirits, 304; speaks of retirement to a convent, *ib.*; change in her feelings on the accession of Henry VIII., 304–306; letter from her father enjoining her to assist him in securing the match with Henry, 306, 307; services rendered by her to Henry at Greenwich Palace, 318; her intercourse with the friars of the Order of St. Francis, 319; her clandestine marriage to Henry in Greenwich, 320, 321 renounces her dowry, 323; lands and rents settled on her, *ib.*; her passage from Greenwich to the Tower, 324 her coronation in Westminster Abbey, 326; her second honeymoon, 326, 327

Cavelleria, Alonzo de la, Vice-chancellor of Aragon, a Friend of Light, i. 4; his Hebrew extraction, 5

Caxton, William, i. 137, 140

Cerdan, Pedro, a Friend of Light i. 4, 25, 29

Cerdaña, under what circumstance ceded to the French, i. 37, 166 Fernando's earnestness in striving to regain it, 191; is ceded by Charles to Fernando, 230

Cervantes, his birthplace in Alcalá i. 65

Charles VIII. King of France, is engaged to marry Marguerite, daughter of King Maximilian, i. 101 proposal from Fernando that he should wed his daughter Isabel not accepted, 101, 102; seeks to obtain possession of Bretagne, 174, 175 his person and character, 177; deceives Father Christopher, 178 179; breaks the truce negotiated by King Henry, 180; defeat of his troops under De Querdes, 212 makes a treaty with Maximilian *ib.*; seeks to evade his engagement with Marguerite, *ib.*; desires to wed the Duchess Anne, 212, 213 induces the Pope to send a messenger with terms of peace to England, 214; Nantes treacherously delivered to him by D'Albret, 220 resolves to put aside Marguerite and marry the Duchess Anne, 224 his intrigues crowned with succes

225; his marriage with Anne, 223; alliance of England, Germany, and Spain against him, 229; is compelled to subsidise England, *ib.*; concedes Cerdaña and Rossillon to Fernando, 230; loses Artois and Franche Compté, *ib.*; invades the Italian States, 272; his successes, 273; Holy League formed against him, 274; is obliged to vacate Italy, 274, 275
Charterhouse, ii. 38
Chau, M. de la, receives bribes from Fernando, ii. 238, 239, 248; receives orders from Philip to deliver Edmond de la Pole to the English, 255
Chigmone, Diego, his treatment of the Papal messenger, ii. 201
Chichele, Archbishop, his adornment of Croydon palace, ii. 72
Christ Church, convent of, ii. 107
Christopher, Father, his position at the court of Henry VII., i. 149, 150; is appointed one of the commissioners to draw up articles of peace and trade with Spain, 151; is employed by Henry to negotiate a peace between Charles of France and the Duke of Bretagne, 176, 177; is deceived by King Charles, 178
Church, its power during the wars of the Roses, i. 122–127; its encroachments on the civil power, 145, 147
Ciphers, royal, i. 259
Claude, daughter of Louis of France, project of a match between her and Prince Carlos, ii. 112, 139, 251; her secret contract at Blois, 254
Clemente, Felipe de, protonotary of Aragon, considered to be a Friend of Light, i. 4, 22, 28; his Hebrew extraction, 5
Clopton, Hugh, builds the bridge at Stratford-on-Avon, ii. 40
Coffinger, William, leaves his estates to the poor, ii. 40
Colet, John, founder of St. Paul's School, ii. 40
Colonna, family of, ii. 167, 171
Columbus, the corsair, receives a patent as Vice-Admiral of the French fleet, i. 67; harasses the Venetian and Spanish merchantmen, *ib.*; seeks a market for his prizes in England, 67, 68; his conduct complained of by Fernando to the King of England, 68
Columbus, Christopher, the navigator, i. 239, 247, ii. 39
Complutensian Bible, i. 65
Concordia, Lionel, Bishop of, his mission to England, i. 214, 215
Cope, the Queen's tailor, is instructed to prepare a litter for the Princess Catharine's journey from Ludlow to London, ii. 70
Cordova, mosque of, i. 235
Cordova, residence of Fernando and family in, i. 1; their flight from, 62
Cordova, Gonsalvo de. *See* Gonzalvo
Coronation service, change in the, introduced by Henry VIII., ii. 324
Cortes in Zaragoza, Friends of Light in, i. 4, 6, 22, 23, 25
Coscon, Miguel, a Friend of Light, i. 4
Council, English, divisions in, respecting the marriage dispensations of the Pope, ii. 307, 308; their difficulties in dealing with the Case of Conscience, 308–315
Courtney, a partisan of Pole, cast into the Tower, ii. 123, 255
Crosby Place, Scottish commissioners entertained at, ii. 40
Croydon Place, granted to Princess Catharine as a residence, ii. 71, 72; its historic associations, 72; her lonely life at, 217
Crutched Friars, convent of, ii. 107
Cuero, Juan de, keeper of the Princess Catharine's plate, i. 347, ii. 11, 12, 14, 20, 75, 76, 92, 288
Cueva, Beltran de la, scandal respecting, i. 49, 50, 52, 54, 55
Curzon, a partisan of Pole, ii. 118

D'Albret, Alain, aspires to the hand of the Duchess Anne, i. 198, 199; his conduct at the battle of St. Aubin, 199; his indignation at the espousal of the Duchess Anne with Maximilian, 222; treacherously delivers Nantes to the French, 223; Queen Isabel's dread of him, ii. 158
D'Albret, Jean, his marriage with

Catharine of Navarre, i. 97; his devotion to the interests of France, *ib.*; his sister married to Cesare Borgia, ii. 90, 162, 165
Daubeney, Giles, Lord, one of the commissioners appointed to negotiate the Spanish match, i. 158; his conferences with Puebla, 160–163; success of his troops in their conflicts with De Querdes, 211; repulses Richard, Duke of York, at Exeter, 330; one of the council to consider terms of contract between Catharine and Henry, ii. 309
Deane, Henry, appointed Chancellor of Ireland, i. 267; succeeds Morton as Archbishop of Canterbury, 363; receives the Princess Catharine at Lambeth House, 364; marries Prince Arthur to the Princess Catharine, 371; one of the commissioners to arrange the marriage contract of King James of Scotland with the Princess Margaret, ii. 38
De Castro, Diego, his mercantile transactions with England, i. 109; his style of living at Burgos, *ib.*
D'Egmont, Charles, Duke of Gueldres, one of the suitors of the Duchess Anne, i. 198; his reception of Edmond de la Pole, ii. 243; at the instance of the King of Scots, places Edmond in the fort of Namur, *ib.*
D'Este, Alfonzo, married to Lucrezia Borgia, ii. 93
Desmond, his sympathy with Richard, Duke of York, i. 261, 270, 280
Deza, Diego de, tutor of Prince Juan, i. 188
Diego, confessor of the Princess Catharine, his unpopularity at the court of Henry, ii. 290; his influence over the mind of Catharine, 291; sells portions of her plate, *ib.*; thwarts the designs of Don Guter, 292
Diego, Grand Inquisitor of Spain, the confessor of Fernando, ii. 278
Dominican preachers, their opposition to pagan learning, i. 3, 4; Order of, founded by St. Dominic, 9
Dominicans, learned men in their Order, i. 10; power acquired by them at the court of Isabel, 15; their intrigues at the court of Enrique IV., 47, 48; their scandalous insinuations respecting the chastity of the mother of Juana, 49, 52
Drummond, Margaret, her relations with James, King of Scotland, i. 310, 316; her children by him, ii. 33; her tragical fate, 35
Dunbar, William, one of the embassy to contract a marriage between James IV. of Scotland and the Princess Margaret, ii. 5, 28; his ode on London, 41
Dunois, his success in inducing the Duchess Anne to marry King Charles, i. 225
Dunstan, St., assists King Edgar in building the church on the site of Westminster Abbey, ii. 103
Durham House, the Princess Catharine takes up her residence in, i. 71; historic associations of, *ib.*; Catharine's manner of life at, ii. 217, 218, 226, 242, 244, 246, *et seq.*

Edgar, King, rebuilds church on site of Westminster Abbey, ii. 103
Edgecombe, Sir Richard, takes Morlaix, i. 196; his influence in the court of the Duchess Anne, 210
Edinburgh, its population and size in the reign of James IV., ii. 27
Edward the Confessor erects Westminster Abbey, ii. 103
Edward I. beautifies Westminster Abbey, ii. 103
Edward IV., splendour of his court, i. 117
Egremont, Sir John, object of his embassage to the court of Maximilian, i. 272
Elinor of Aragon, i. 38, 69, ii. 257
Elizabeth Woodville, wife of Edward IV., her eventful life, i. 136
Elizabeth, wife of Henry VII., surnamed 'the Good,' her character and habits, i. 135, 136; her four sisters, 138; her joy at the marriage of Arthur with Catharine, 357, 358; her interview with the Princess Catharine, 365; her grief for the loss of her son Prince Arthur, ii. 52–54; her kind sym-

pathy towards the Princess Catharine, 70; her works of mercy, 105–109; her pilgrimages to famous shrines, 105; her failing health, 112; gives birth to a girl, 113; her death, and that of her child, 113, 114; her burial in the chapel in Westminster Abbey, 114
Elsinge's hospital, ii. 108
Eltham, royal palace of, ii. 3, 21, 102, 113
Elvira, chief attendant on the Princess Catharine on her arrival in England, i. 347, 356, ii. 18, 220, *et passim*.
Empson, his unpopularity, i. 265
England, low condition of, during and after the Wars of the Roses, i. 115–121; power of the Church in, 122–127; its opposition to Papal claims, 142; its want of sympathy with the pretensions of Richard, Duke of York, 264, 265
Enguera, Juan de, is sent to the French court to propose terms of marriage between Fernando and Germaine, ii. 257
Enrique IV. the Liberal, King of Castille, his sister Isabel rebels against him, i. 38; a patron of poets and learned men, 45; opposition to him by monks and priests, *ib.*; influence of Jews and Moors in his court, 46–48; hostility of the Dominicans against him, 48; their insinuations against the chastity of his queen how met by him, 49; his brother Don Alonzo is set up in opposition to him, 51; at Alonzo's death his throne offered by the Dominicans to his sister Isabel, 38, 51; is induced to sign articles of peace, 52, 53; denounces the marriage of his sister Isabel and Fernando as unlawful, *ib.*; his death, 53
Erkenwald, St., i. 358, 366, 368, 370, 372, ii. 2
Esquivel, Alonzo de, master of the hall to Princess Catharine, i. 347, ii. 244, 245, 247
Estrada, appointed by Fernando envoy to England on the death of Prince Arthur, ii. 56; his instructions to compass a marriage of the Princess Catharine with Prince Henry, 57, 58, 60, 64, 65; his rapid journey from Spain to England, 74; takes the government of Catharine's household, 75, 76; sends Padre Alessandro to Spain, 78; reception of his proposals by Henry VII., 79, 80; Isabel's letters to him, 82–86, 90, 97–99; receives instructions respecting the pretended return of Catharine to Spain, 92; takes part in framing the draft of the articles to be laid before the Pope, 145–151; on the betrothal of Catharine to Henry asks that the title Princess should be given to her, 199; considers his mission accomplished, 200
Excellenta, Señora. *See* Juana.

Farnham, Prince Arthur nursed at, ii. 102; a chantry at, raised to his memory, *ib.*
Federigo, King of Naples, spoliation of his kingdom by the French and Spaniards, ii. 59
Fernando, King of Aragon and Sicily, decrees the establishment of the Inquisition in Aragon, 18; powers given to Torquemada to carry out his edict, 21; his instructions to Inglar and Arbues, the deputies of Torquemada, 22; deputation to him from the Cortes of Zaragoza protesting against the establishment of the Inquisition, 23; after the assassination of Arbues confiscates the estates of the Friends of Light, 29, 69; conspires against the liberties of his country, 30; his personal appearance, 33; his birth and training, 34; his intrigues and amours, 35, 36; difficulties surmounted by him in his marriage with Isabel of Castille, 38, 39; procures a spurious papal dispensation, 39, ii. 162, 279; wrests the kingdom of Castille from the lawful queen Juana, i. 55–60; compels Affonzo, king of Portugal, the supporter of Juana, to sue for peace, 57; leaves Cordova with his family, and takes up his residence in the house of Mendoza in Alcala, 62–64; inimi-

cal feelings produced in Navarre and France by his conduct to the Friends of Light, 66, 67; menacing attitude of the French towards him, *ib.*; his ignorance of England and its king, 68; makes complaints to the English king of the piratical conduct of Columbus the corsair, *ib.*; severe punishment inflicted by him on Don Jaime of Navarre, 69, ii. 256; decrees a magnificent tomb to the memory of the inquisitor Arbues, i. 69; commences a holy war against the Moors, 1, 77; attacks Granada, 78; his perfidious policy towards Abd-allah, 80–82; captures Loja, 82; makes a pilgrimage to Santiago, 83; captures Malaga, 84, 89; his cruel persecutions of the Friends of Light, 90; revives the Santa Hermandad, 93; his desire that his son Juan should wed Catharine of Navarre frustrated, 97; his anxiety respecting the results of his conquests of Granada, 98; deems it prudent to make alliance with France, *ib.*; despatches Ruy de Pina to offer his second daughter, Juana, to the King of Portugal, 100; desires an alliance with Henry, King of England, against France, 103–105; appoints Puebla ambassador to the English king, 108, 151; gives instructions to Puebla and Sepulveda to treat of peace and contract a match between Prince Arthur and the Princess Catharine, 151; secretly desires to inveigle England in a war with France, 152; his feelings on receiving the articles of marriage determined on by the commissioners, 169, 170; his reception of the English ambassadors at Medina del Campo, 186–190; articles of treaty of commerce entered into between him and Henry, 191; his daughter Catharine pledged to Prince Arthur, 192, 193; his conduct to the lovers of the Duchess Anne, 200; his intrigues with Pope Innocent and with Henry, 216, 217; seeks to place his son, Juan, among the candidates for the hand of the Duchess Anne, 219; his thoughts on the marriage of King Charles with the Duchess Anne, 228; enters into an alliance with Henry and Maximilian against France, *ib.*; wrests Cerdaña and Rossillon from Charles, 229; his victories over the Moors, 231–240; his capture of Granada, 236–238; his cruelty towards the Jews, 242; attempt on his life in Barcelona, 253; goes to Zaragoza, *ib.*; suggests the formation of a Holy League against France, 273; his cautious conduct while Richard, Duke of York, was preparing to invade England, 277; his change of tactics towards Henry on the defeat of Richard, 279; arranges the marriage of his son, Juan, with Marguerite, and that of his daughter, Juana, with Philip the Fair, 294, 295; his insincerity towards Henry, 304; warns Henry against the intrigues of France, 306; his feelings towards Richard, Duke of York, after his marriage with Lady Catharine Gordon, 311; deception practised by him on James, King of Scotland, 312, 315; death of his son Juan, 335; his annoyance at the violent measures of Ximenes, 341; takes the command of the troops against the Moors, *ib.*; departure of his daughter Catharine from Spain, 345; forbids the Princess Catharine to raise her veil in public before marriage, 350; his continued want of confidence in King Henry, 350, 351, 352; letter to him from Prince Arthur, ii. 5; receives intelligence of the sudden death of Arthur, 55, 56; his instructions to his envoy Estrada, 57, 58, 60, 61, 64–68, 183; contracts a treaty with Louis of France for the spoliation of the kingdom of Naples, 59; plots a match between his widowed daughter Catharine and Henry, Duke of York, 60; transfers to Isabel the conduct of this match, 68; his anxieties respecting his Italian provinces, 81; his rupture with Louis, 81, 82, 85; reverses of his troops, 89, 93; disaffection of his subjects, 94,

95; his feelings towards the Archduke Philip, 136; constrains Isabel to deprive Philip and Juana of their just rights, 137; sends reinforcements to Gonsalvo, 139; his successes in Italy, 140; his uneasiness respecting the mission of Guerra to Portugal, 187; victory of his army at Garigliano, 194–196; destroys the French army and grants a truce to Louis, 197; orders the arrest of Cesare Borgia, 204; sends a copy of the bull signed by the Pope to Henry, 210; causes Isabel to sign letters-patent giving him the government of Castille, 213, 214; death of Isabel, 216; his unpopularity, 216, 234; his letter to King Henry communicating the death of Isabel, 228, 229; ratifies the articles, and confers on English subjects privileges of trade, 230; is troubled by the absence of reciprocity on the part of King Henry, 230; sends Manrique with proposals of marriage to the Excellenta, 236; his overtures not successful, *ib.*; is requested by the Cortes of Toro to assume the Regency of Castille, 237; bribes the Flemish councillors of Philip, 238; his suspicions of Gonsalvo, 256, 257; marries Germaine, the daughter of the Count of Narbonne, 257; degrading terms of this alliance, 258; his conduct on the arrival of Philip and Juana in Spain, 259; instructs Ximenes to arrange a meeting between him and Philip, *ib.*; their meeting at Villa Fafila, 260; amazing tale told by him of this meeting, 261; protests against the treaties he had signed, 262; leaves Spain for Naples, 263; sends Mosen Ferrer to Burgos to watch Philip, *ib.*; his reply to Catharine respecting the project of a marriage between King Henry and Juana, 266; returns from Italy, and assumes the Regency of Castille, 267; appoints Ximenes president of his council, *ib.*; spreads rumours respecting the insanity of Juana, *ib.*; confines her in a castle in Tordesillas, 267, 279; Catharine's letters to him when informed by King Henry that her match with his son was broken off, 269, 272; appoints Catharine his ambassadress in England, 271; his letters to her, 271, 273, 274; appoints Don Guter his ambassador in place of Puebla, 275; his life at Valladolid with his second wife, 279, 280; his failing strength, 280; estrangement of his nobles, *ib.*; turbulence of his people, *ib.*; his lonely life, 281; his alarm at the position taken by Louis and Maximilian in Italy, 281, 286; birth of a son, 283; its death, *ib.*; desires to arrange his disagreement with the English court, 283, 286; invests Guter with fresh powers, 287; his urgency in the settlement of the marriage of Catharine, *ib.*; Don Guter complains to him of Catharine's confessor Diego, 292; his letters to Catharine, 294, 306; gives Guter instructions respecting his conduct with regard to the Case of Conscience before the English Council, 308; his threats of war in the event of the Council rejecting the contract, 310, 312. *See* Isabel.

Fitzwary, Simon, founds a hospital for the insane, ii. 109

Fitzwilliam, William, builds St. Andrew Undershaft, ii. 40

Fonseca, Alonzo de, Archbishop of Santiago, acts as moderator between Mendoza and the mayor of Alcala, i. 75; appointed one of the commissioners of the dowry of the Princess Catharine, 348; accompanies Catharine to England, *ib.*; takes part in her marriage with Arthur, 371; his departure from England, ii. 20

Forman, Andrew, one of the embassy from James IV. to Henry VII., ii. 5

Forrest, Father, one of the Franciscan friars at Greenwich, ii. 318

Fox, Richard, Bishop, nominated one of the commissioners to treat respecting the match of Arthur with Catharine, i. 158; his conference with Puebla respecting the marriage articles of Catharine, 160–

163; welcomes Catharine on her arrival in London, 359; appointed one of the commissioners to arrange the marriage contract of James IV. of Scotland with the Princess Margaret, ii. 38; is favourable to the Spanish proposal of a marriage of Catharine with Henry, Duke of York, 80, 143, 311; is appointed one of the commissioners to consider Isabel's proposals, 144, 145–151; is present at the repudiation of Catharine by Henry, 231

France acquires possession of Rossillon, i. 66; its fertility and power of growth, 165; Puebla wishes to engage King Henry in a treaty against, 165, 166; its sympathy with Scotland, 307

Franciscans, Order of, their jealousy of the Dominicans, i. 12; their power in Toledo, *ib.*; houses of, in Greenwich, ii. 318; legacy to, from Henry VII., 319, 320

Francois II., Duke of Bretagne, his duchy invaded by King Charles, i. 175; seeks for assistance from England, *ib.*; truce concluded between him and Charles, 179; his country treacherously invaded by Charles, 180; his death, *ib.*

Francois, Duke of Angoulême, project of a marriage between his sister Marguerite and Henry, Prince of Wales, ii. 74; his relation to the throne of France, 75

Friends of Light, their number, learning, and influence, i. 2; their opposition to the establishment of the Inquisition in Aragon, 2, 18, 25-28; their cultivation of Greek literature, 3; their high repute in the court of Fernando, 4–7; their desire to thwart the designs of Torquemada, 8; compass the death of the inquisitor Arbues, 27, 28; their consternation after the assassination of Arbues, 28, 29; cruel persecutions practised on them, 66, 67, 90–94

Fuensalida, Don Guter Gomez de, his instructions from Queen Isabel, ii. 95, 96; takes the place of Puebla at the English court, 275; is instructed by Ferdinand to reopen the subject of Catharine's nuptials, 275, 286, 287; has instructions from Fernando to offer bribes to the Council of Henry, 287, 292; his inimical feelings towards Catharine's confessor, Diego, 291; his letter to Fernando complaining of Diego's conduct and insolence, 292

Gali, Ince de, i. 235

Gaunt, John of, Henry VII.'s descent from, i. 143, ii. 296; his marriage to Blanche, daughter of Henry Duke of Lancaster, ii. 106

Geraldino, Alessandro, appointed tutor and confessor to the Princess Catharine, i. 246; advocates the cause of Columbus, 247; accompanies Catharine to England, 347; Ayala's jealousy of him, ii. 19; writes to Fernando on the position of Catharine, 63; Estrada's instructions respecting him in the event of his opposing the marriage of Catharine with Henry, 66, 67, 220; is sent back to Spain by Estrada, 78; honours conferred on him by Ferdinand and Isabel, *ib.*

Germaine, daughter of the Count of Narbonne, second wife of Fernando, ii. 257; her life at Valladolid, 279, 280; birth and death of her child, 283

Ghent, insurrection in, against Maximilian, i. 157; deputation from, to England, ii. 241

Giglis, Sylvestro di, Bishop of Worcester, his interview with Pope Julius, ii. 183; his mission to Rome, 191; is sent by the Pope with the bull to England, 230

Giustinian, his account of the musical skill of Henry VIII., ii. 298

Gomedes, Juan de, vicar-general, his character, i. 19

Gonsalvo de Cordova, his knowledge of the Moorish language and customs, i. 231, 233, 234; enters Granada, 236; induces Abd-allah to surrender the city, 237; his harsh measures to the Moors at Huescar, 340; his campaigns in Italy, ii. 59, 81; retreats to Barletta, 89; his reverses, 93; defeats Nemours at

Cerignola, 140; results of his victories, *ib.*; defeats the French army at Garigliano, 194–196; captures Gaeta, 196, 197; his opposition to Fernando, 235; Fernando's suspicions of him, 281; retires from court, *ib.*

Gonzales, Luis, Secretary of State, ranked among the Friends of Light, i. 4; his Hebrew extraction, 5

Gordon, Lady Catharine, her marriage with Richard, Duke of York, i. 308; her constancy to him, 321, 331

Gotor, Martinez, a Friend of Light, i. 4, 25; his Jewish extraction, 5

Granada, the capital of Andalusia, poetical description of, i. 78; rival factions in, 80–82; its siege by Fernando, 236; its capture, 237, 238; news of its downfall how received at Rome and in England, 238; its beauty and fertility, 240; its poets and its scholars, 241; cruel treatment of the Jews in, by Queen Isabel, 242–244; insurrection of the workmen in, 339; treaty signed at, between Fernando and Louis of France, ii. 59

'Great Harry,' construction of, ii. 300

Greenwich Palace, Henry VIII. born at, ii. 50; a favourite residence of Henry VII., i. 50, 223; the intelligence of Prince Arthur's death received at, 52; Henry VIII.'s partiality for, 317; his clandestine marriage at, 320

Guerra, Pietro, his mission from Henry VII. to Portugal, ii. 146, 189, 187

Gusman, Alonzo de, at the camp of Fernando, i. 232

Gusman, Domingo de (St. Dominic), founder of the Order of Dominicans, i. 9; desires to employ moral force for the extirpation of heresy in Spain, i. 10

Guter Gomez de Fuensalida, Don. *See* Fuensalida.

Hagenau, ii. 235, 256, 281

Hampton Court, ii. 113

Hans, King of Denmark, ii. 120, 122

Hassan, Caliph, his effeminate character, i. 79; his loss of Alhama, *ib.*; his subjection to a favourite slave, *ib.*; jealousy of his wife Zoraya, *ib.*; civil war in his dominions, 79, 80; his son, Abd-allah, rebels against him, 80; his capture by Fernando and his release, *ib.*; his flight to Seville, 81, 82; is brought back by the Spaniards to Granada, *ib.*

Henry III. beautifies Westminster Abbey, ii. 103

Henry VII., King of England, Fernando seeks an alliance with him, i. 104; his pledges to the King of France, 105; receives proposals of treaty from Fernando, 106; advantages to him from an alliance with Spain, 112; impoverished condition of England when he ascended the throne, 115–120; his first parliament, 118, 119; his letter to Pope Innocent, 126, 127; his personal appearance and character, 128, 129; his love of legends and myths, 130, 131; his zeal for religion, 131, 132,; his fondness for money, 132, 133; his partiality to monks and poets, 133; his peaceful character, 133, 134, 307; purity of his court, 135; birth of his eldest son, Arthur, 138; his devotion to the Church of Rome, 139; power of the Papal church during his reign, 139–147; his reception and treatment of the Spanish ambassador Puebla, 153; desires to conclude a treaty of commerce with Spain, 155; entertains the instructions of Puebla respecting a match between Princess Catharine and Prince Arthur, *ib.*; appoints commissioners to negotiate the proposed match, 158; expresses a desire that Catharine should be sent to England, 159; congratulates Fernando on his victories over the Moors, 174; arbitrates between Charles of France and the Duke of Bretagne, 179, 180; his feelings at the treacherous breaking of the truce by Charles, 180; is constrained to take up arms in favour of Duchess Anne against France, 195; supplies granted him by Parliament, *ib.*; warlike spirit of his

troops, 196, 197, 210, 211; his reception of the Papal envoy, Malvezzi, 205–208; successes of his troops, 208–212; overtures of peace from Charles, 215; his indignation at the treachery of D'Albret, 222; his letter to the Pope on the restless ambition of France, 227; compels Charles to sue for peace, 229; terms of peace concluded with Charles, *ib.*; his preparations against Richard, Duke of York, 265; pardons Kildare, and appoints him Prince Henry's deputy in Ireland, 276, 277; results of his defeat of Richard, 279, 280; his treatment of Pregent Menou and Tyrrell, 280, 281; his anger at the neglect of the education of the Princess Catharine, 303; joins the Holy League, 304; prosperous condition of his kingdom, 305; Fernando warns him against French intrigues, 306; his kind treatment of Edmond de la Pole, 325; his treatment of Richard and Lady Catharine after their defeat at Exeter, 330, 331; his interview with Philip and Juana at Calais, 342, ii. 111; refuses to attend to the injunctions of Fernando as to keeping the Princess Catharine veiled, i. 354, 355; his first interview with her, 355; his generosity to the suite of Catharine, 366; feast prepared by him at Westminster Hall in honour of the marriage, ii. 3, 4; proposes that Arthur should go to Ludlow Castle and hold court there, 7; his intrigues to gain possession of Catharine's plate and jewels, 8–21; appoints a commission to arrange the betrothal of his daughter Margaret with James of Scotland, 38; his letter to Fernando respecting Arthur and Catharine, 45; his residence at Greenwich, 50; his reception of the intelligence of the death of Prince Arthur, 52; erects a chapel to Arthur's memory in Worcester Cathedral, 69; receives Estrada, 78; his treatment of Estrada's project, 79, 96; shrines and chapels raised by him to the memory of Prince Arthur, 101, 102; proposes the erection of a chapel in Westminster Abbey, 103, 104; projects the conversion of Savoy Palace into a hospital for the poor, 106–109; his grief at the death of his wife Elizabeth, 114; desires to gain possession of Edmond de la Pole, 113, 116, 122; refuses to assist Maximilian in his war against Bajazet, 124; bribes Maximilian to banish Pole from the Austrian States, 125; hints of a match between him and the Princess Catharine how entertained by Queen Isabel, 130–133; his cautious dealing with Estrada, 142; appoints commissioners to consider the Spanish proposals, 144; his aversion to the proposed match between Catharine and Prince Henry, 145, *et seq.*; resolves to appeal to Rome, 145; sends Guerra on a mission to Spain and Portugal, 147; form of articles to be submitted to the Pope, 150; his letter to Pope Alexander VI., 165; delays forwarding the articles to Pope Julius II., 177, 178; employs Adriano and Sylvestro as his agents in the suit, 180; sends a special embassy to Rome to do homage to the Pope, 191; receives news of the victory at Garigliano, 197; ratifies the articles, *ib.*; permits the betrothal, 199; grants to Spanish merchants privileges of trade, 231; finds flaws in the bull, *ib.*; his son Henry repudiates the contract, *ib.*; his reception of Philip and Juana at Windsor Castle, 249; his policy with regard to Pole, 250, 251; his conference with Philip, and projects of alliances, 251, 252; wives proposed for him, 252, 275; undertakes to spare the life of Pole, 253, 255; his failing health, 264; Catharine proposes his marriage with her widowed sister Juana, 266; informs Catharine that her contract with his son was broken off, 269; his rupture with Guter, 283; his time occupied in the settlement and training of his children, 276;

his deeds of mercy and of love, *ib.*; signs a general pardon for offences, *ib.*; orders inquiries to be made into the charges against his collectors of rapacity, 277; his will, *ib.*; his liberal provision for his hospital of the Savoy, 278; his death and burial in his chapel in Westminster Abbey, *ib.*

Henry VIII. (Duke of York, Prince of Wales), King of England, appointed Lord-lieutenant of Ireland when five years old, i. 267; his robust constitution, 358; his first interview with Princess Catharine, 361; conducts her from Lambeth House to the bishop's palace at St. Paul's, 368, 369; dances with his sister Margaret at the marriage-feast, ii. 5; plot concocted at Toledo by Fernando and Isabel to contract him in marriage to their widowed daughter Catharine, 61; betrothed to Catharine at Salisbury Court, 199; at his coming of age repudiates the betrothal, 251; his accession to the throne, 292; his personal appearance and accomplishments, 296, 297; his musical abilities, 298, 299; his knowledge of foreign languages, 299; his moral qualities, 300; his attention to religious duties, 301; his reverence for the Church of Rome, 302; his sentiments towards Catharine, 304–307; his energy in government, 316, 317; his popularity, 317; his partiality for Greenwich Palace as a residence, *ib.*; his clandestine marriage to Catharine, 320; legal measures previously taken by him, *ib.*; his coronation, 324; changes the form of oath in the coronation service, *ib.*; his days of honeymoon, 327; satisfaction of his subjects, 327, 328

Heridia, Pablo de, i. 235

Heron, John, keeper of Princess Catharine's purse, ii. 199; 320, 322

Hollybrand, his knowledge of Castillian of service to the Princess Catharine, i. 349, ii. 76, 199

Holy League, formation of, against Charles, i. 273

Hospitals in London, ii. 108

Inglar, Gaspar, one of the deputies appointed by Torquemada to establish the Inquisition in Aragon, i. 22

Innocent VIII., deputation sent to him from Aragon to protest against the establishment of the Inquisition, i. 23; letter of Henry VII. to him, 126, 127; sends Malvezzi to England, 206, 207; despatches the Bishop of Concordia to arrange a peace between Henry and Charles, 214

Inquisition, its establishment in Seville, i. 13–16; in Cordova, Villa Real, and Jaen, 16; in Avila, Toledo, and other cities of Castille, 16, 17; opposition to its establishment in Aragon, 18–23

Ireland, English government in, ii. 104, 277

Isabel, Queen of Leon and Castille, i. 1; pledge given by her to Torquemada to root out heresy from the soil of Spain, 9, 42; inaugurates the Holy Office, 2; her connexions with the Franciscans, 12; builds the Franciscan convent of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo, *ib.*; obtains Papal bulls empowering the Dominicans to punish heretics, 14, 15; builds the Dominican convent of Avila to commemorate the planting of the Inquisition in Castille, 16; her personal appearance and character, 40, 41; her subserviency to the priests, 41; enters the Order of St. Francis, *ib.*; her opposition to schools and learning, 41–43; her ambition to be considered a saint, 42; her inimical feelings towards the Jews, 44; her conduct to her brother Enrique and her niece Juana, *ib.*; the kingdom of Castille offered to her by the Dominicans, and her pledge in return, 50, 51; her marriage with Fernando denounced by her brother Enrique as unlawful, 53; induces Mendoza to espouse her cause against her niece Juana, 84; wrests the kingdom of Castille from Juana, 55–60; her daughter, Isabel, espoused to John, Prince of Portugal, 57; desires to espouse her eldest son,

Juan, to Juana, 59; confines Juana in the convent of Santa Clara, 60; her remorse for her conduct to Juana, 44, 341, 342, *et passim;* honours paid by her to the memory of the inquisitor Arbues, 69; leaves Cordova, and goes to Alcala, 62; gives birth to Catharine, 70; her contention with Mendoza, 75; returns to Cordova, 77; her pitiless treatment of the captives taken at Malaga, 88, 89; her answer to the English messengers requesting aid against the French, 222; sets at naught the treaty made with the Moors in Granada, 241; her cruelty to the Jews of Granada, 242, 243; her hardness of heart towards Abravanel, 243; her partiality to the Alhambra as a residence, 249, 250; receives a letter from Richard, Duke of York, 258; her evasive conduct to him, 259; nurses Mendoza on his death-bed, 282; turns a deaf ear to Mendoza's appeal in behalf of the Excellenta, 285; her alarm at the demand of King Manoel for the hand of her daughter Isabel, 287; her letters to Puebla, 318; sends spies to watch Puebla, *ib.*; her feelings at the loss of her eldest son, Juan, 336; is distressed by the attitude of Aragon when called on to do fealty to Manoel, *ib.*; death of her daughter, Isabel, 337; is compelled to listen to the proposal of Manoel for her next daughter, Maria, 339; inquietude of her mind, 341; her parting with Catharine, 345; her letter to Catharine on the death of Prince Arthur, ii. 62; Fernando gives into her charge the conduct of the match between Princess Catharine and Prince Henry, 68; her instructions to Estrada, 81–86, 89–92, 97–99, *et seq.*; her politic conduct towards Puebla, 87–89; her various intrigues, 92, 93–96, *et seq.*; her instructions to Don Guter, 95, 96; her reasons for endeavouring to influence Maximilian to give up Edmond de la Pole, 116, 117, 126, 127, 135; writes in anger to Estrada on the hint of a match between King Henry and the Princess Catharine, 131–133; sends to Estrada legal opinions respecting the restitution of Catharine's dowry, 135; accedes to Fernando's desire to deprive Philip and Juana of their rights, 137; approves of the articles to be submitted to the Pope, 154; grants to the English merchants license to trade with Spain, 156; desires the help of Henry against France, 157; her instructions respecting the pawning of Catharine's plate and jewels, 158, 159; her letter to Prince Henry, 186; Guerra's mission to Lisbon a source of inquietude to her, 187; gives orders to Gonsalvo to arrest Borgia, and send him to Spain, 204; means adopted by her to cause Pope Julius to sign the bull, 208; her treacherous conduct in obtaining possession of and publishing the bull, 209; decline of her health, 213; her will and codicil, *ib.*; her death, 216; reception of the intelligence of her death by the people, *ib.*; her burial in Granada, 234.

Isabel, daughter of Fernando and Isabel, why called 'the child of sin,' i. 57; espoused to Affonzo, son of John of Portugal, 57; her character, 283; at Affonzo's death returns to Spain, 284; is sought in marriage by her uncle Manoel, 286; her repugnance to the match, 287; before acceding to Manoel's desire, extorts from him a pledge that he will expel the Jews from Portugal, 297, 298; her death, 337

Islip, Abbot, his missals, i. 133; Henry VII.'s chapel in Westminster Abbey built by him, ii. 104, 276

Italy, state of, when invaded by Charles, King of France, i. 272

Jaen, the King Fernando encamped at, i. 22, 25

Jaime, Don, of Navarre, is charged with having given shelter to the Friends of Light, i. 69; his seizure and shameful punishment, 69, ii. 256

James IV., King of Scotland, interest taken by him in the affairs of Richard, Duke of York, i. 264; reception given by him to Richard on his arrival in Scotland, 308; gives to Richard his cousin, Lady Catharine Gordon, in marriage, *ib.*; is offended at the tenderness displayed by Richard, 310, 311; leaves Richard advancing into England, and returns to Stirling, *ib.*; deception attempted to be practised on him by Fernando and his ambassador Puebla, 312–315; his amatory propensities, 316, 317, ii. 33-35; listens to Ayala's proposal of a match with England, i. 317; his unsuccessful attack on Norham, 320; induces Richard to leave Scotland, 321; sends ambassadors to London to contract a marriage with the Princess Margaret, ii. 5, 21, 22; his personal appearance and character, 29; his bravery on the battle-field, 32; is married by proxy to the Princess Margaret, 42; induces the Duke of Gueldres to imprison Pole, 243

Jean, King-consort of Navarre, his sister married to Cesare Borgia, ii. 90, 162

Jeanne, Queen of France, is divorced by Pope Alexander VI. from her husband Louis, ii. 75

Jennings, Stephen, builds the grammar-school at Wolverhampton, ii. 40

Jews, descendants of, their high position in the Court of Fernando, i. 4, 5, 31; are ranked among the Friends of Light, 5, 24; tests by which Torquemada discovered secret, 24; their position after the assassination of Arbues, 31; their flight from Aragon, 66; find refuge in Navarre, *ib.*; their cruel treatment by Isabel on the fall of Granada, 242–245; their expulsion from Spain, 244, 245; their reception in Portugal by John the Perfect, 284; Queen Isabel constrains her daughter Isabel to exact from Manoel a promise to drive them from Portugal, 297; their expulsion from Portugal, 297, 298

John, King of Portugal, espouses his son, Affonzo, to Isabel, daughter of Fernando and Isabel, i. 57; keeps the Princess Juana confined in Santa Clara, 103; his grief at the loss of his son Affonzo, 283; his kind reception of the Jews fleeing from Spain, 284; his remorse on his death-bed for his conduct to Juana, 285, 336; appeals to his successor, Manoel, to do justice to her, *ib.*

John the Baptist, hospital of, projected by Henry VII., ii. 109

Juan, Don, son of Fernando and Isabel, his weak constitution, i. 2; his Dominican tutors, 15; Isabel desires to espouse him to her niece Juana, 59; crowns to which he was heir, 95; matrimonial projects regarding him, 96; Fernando desires him to be affianced to Catharine of Navarre, 96, 97; his appearance and character, 188; put forward by his father as a candidate for the hand of the Duchess Anne, 219; his marriage with the Princess Marguerite, daughter of Maximilian, at Burgos, 295; his sudden death at Salamanca, 299, 335; his burial at Santa Thomas, 336

Juana-Enriquez, wife of Juan II., King of Aragon, i. 36; her conduct to her step-son, Don Carlos, 36, 37; induces Enrique of Castille to sign articles of peace, *ib.*; her intrigues to procure a marriage between her son, Fernando, and Isabel of Castille, 38, 39

Juana, the daughter of Enrique IV., the lawful heiress of his kingdom, i. 45; insinuations against her legitimacy by the Dominicans refuted by her father, 49, 50; her numerous suitors, 50; her position at her father's death, 53; her aunt, Isabel, and Fernando dispute her right to the crown, *ib.*; her uncle Affonzo espouses her cause, 55; on Affonzo's defeat by Fernando, is deprived of her liberty, 58; character of her mother vindicated, *ib.*; attempt to espouse her to Juan, eldest son of Fernando and Isabel,

not successful, 58, 59; refuses to take the veil, *ib.*; confined in the convent of Santa Clara in Coimbra, 60; estimation in which she was held, *ib.*; is sought in marriage by Prince Phœbus, 97; is a constant source of inquietude to Fernando and Isabel, 44, 60, 99, 341, 342; after the death of Isabel; Fernando makes overtures of marriage to her, ii. 236; the proposal not entertained by her, *ib.*

Juana, second daughter of Fernando, offered in marriage to John, King of Portugal, i. 100; her beauty and character, 189; her repugnance to the friars by whom she was surrounded, 290; is committed to the charge of Fray Andreas, 189, 293; her marriage with Philip the Fair, 293; her position to the succession to the Spanish throne at the death of her sister Isabel, 337; her interview with Henry VII. at Calais, 342; goes with Philip to Spain to receive recognition of her rights, ii. 116; her reception in Castille, 117; is formally recognised by the Cortes, 137; base scheme of her father to rob her of her birthright, *ib.*; is reported by Fernando to be insane, 237, 248, 249, 267; her visit to England, 249; her interview with her sister Catharine in England, 249; her numerous suitors, 262; is confined in the castle of Tordesillas, *ib.*

Juana, illegitimate daughter of Fernando, offered in marriage to James, King of Scotland, i. 313-315

Julius II. (*see* Giuliano della Rovere) his elevation to the Papal chair, ii. 173; his conduct to Rojas requesting liberty for Catharine to be betrothed to Henry, 173–176; assents to hearing the suit presented by Rojas, 178; places the matter before the cardinals of Naples and Portugal, 183, 184; makes an enemy of Cesare Borgia, 181; hesitates to seal the second statement of the case, 189; his difficulty in signing the dispensation, 206; being informed of the cause of the illness of Isabel, he seals the bull, 208; places the document in a secret drawer, *ib.*; importuned by Isabel, he lends the bull to the envoy with a pledge of secresy, 209; his annoyance at the publication of the bull by Isabel, 229; sends Sylvestro to England with the bull, 230

Kebble, Henry, gift by, to the husbandmen of Oxfordshire and Warwickshire, ii. 40

Kemal, sent by the Sultan Bajazet to assist the Moors in Spain, i. 87

Kennedey, Lady Janet, and James IV. of Scotland, ii. 34, 35

Kent, invasion of, by Richard, Duke of York, i. 262–267

Kildare, Earl of, his sympathy with Richard Duke of York, i. 260; is taken prisoner by Poynings, 268; his enmity to Payne, bishop of Meath, 268, 269; is taken to England and lodged in the Tower, 269; his appearance before the Council, 274; his adroit answers to Henry, *ib.*; his pardon and preferment, 274, 275

Killingworth, Thomas, steward of Edmond de la Pole, ii. 119, 122

Lancaster, House of, its matrimonial alliances with Spain, i. 110, 111

Landino, i, 2.

'Laymen,' a term of reproach in the reign of Henry VII., i. 155

Lazar-houses in London, ii. 107–108

Lebrija, Antonio de, i. 2, 3, 45; his lectures patronised by the Friends of Light, 8

Leon, Ponce de, i. 231, 233

Leon, Sire de, pledged to the Duchess Anne, i. 198

Lerida, i. 3, 6, 91

Loja, its siege and capture by Fernando, i. 82

London, merchants of, their enterprise, ii. 39; mayors of, 40

Londono, Sancho de, appointed by Queen Isabel a spy on the conduct of Puebla, i. 139, ii. 9

Louis XII., King of France (*see* Orleans), bribes Maximilian to break terms with Federigo, king of Naples, ii. 58; signs a treaty with

Fernando to divide with him the kingdom of Naples, 59; appoints Nemours his general in Italy, 59, 60: desires to contract a marriage between Princess Marguerite and Henry, Duke of York, 74, 75; procures a divorce from his wife Jeanne, and marries the Duchess Anne, 75; his rupture with Fernando, 81, 82, 85; advances into Italy, 81, 89; his successes, 90; his haughty conduct in Milan, 93, 94; desires to get Pole into his hands, 125; his reception of the Archduke Philip, 138; signs the treaty of Lyons, 139; discomfiture of his army in Italy, 140; makes preparations for the invasion of Spain, 157; defeat of his army at Garigliano by Gonsalvo, 194–196; sues for peace, 197; signs a treaty for marrying his daughter Claude to Carlos, 254; terms on which he accedes to the marriage of Fernando to Germaine, 258

Ludlow Castle, court held at, by Prince Arthur, ii. 7, 8, 44; history of, 43; masques and revels at, 44; Prince Arthur's death at, 48

Lyons, articles of the treaty of, ii. 139

Machado, Ruy, goes to Spain in company with the English ambassadors, Savage and Nanfan, i. 181, 187

Madeleine, sister of Louis XI., mother of Catharine of Navarre, her devotion to the interests of France, i. 97; her opposition to the matrimonial schemes of Fernando, *ib.*

Malaga, famed for its figs and grapes, i. 84; its attack and capture by Fernando, 84–89; cruelties practised by Fernando and Isabel on a captives taken at, 88, 89

Malory, his history of 'King Arthur and his Knights,' i. 139, 140

Malvezzi, Perseo, failure of his mission to England, i. 205–208

Manrique, Pedro, husband of Elvira, chamberlain of Prince Arthur's household, i. 347, ii. 20, 75, 76, 92; his quarrel with Elvira, 220

Manrique, Rodrigo, is sent on a mission by Fernando to the Excellenta, ii. 236

Manoel, Duke of Beja, afterwards King of Portugal, his kindness to Zacuto, i. 284; on the death of Affonzo, becomes the heir of John the Perfect, 285; is entreated by King John on his death-bed to do justice to the Princess Juana, *ib.*; neglects obedience to the dying injunction, 286; seeks the hand of Affonzo's widow Isabel, 286; terms on which Isabel accedes to his demand, 207; issues an edict expelling the Jews from Portugal, *ib.*; his position to the Spanish throne on the death of Prince Juan, 336; death of his wife, and her infant son, 337; seeks and obtains Maria, next daughter of Fernando and Isabel, in marriage, 339

Mantua, commander of the French army, his disastrous defeat by Gonsalvo at Garigliano, ii. 194–197

Manuel, Juan, his position at the court of Philip, ii. 244, 246, 281–282; refuses to accept the bribes of Fernando, 239

Margaret of Richmond, mother of Henry VII., her character, i. 237

Margaret, Duchess, support rendered by her to Richard, Duke of York, i. 260, 261, 263, 309; her letter to Pope Alexander VI. i. 263

Margaret, daughter of King Henry VII., present at the nuptials of Prince Arthur and Catharine, ii. 4; embassy from King James of Scotland to arrange a match with her, 5, 22; her betrothal, 41, 42; articles left to her by Prince Arthur, 48

Marguerite, daughter of King Maximilian, engaged in marriage to Charles, king of France, i. 101; her rejection by Charles, 294; her marriage with Prince Juan, 294, 295; death of her husband and infant son, 299, 335, 336; project of her marriage with Henry VII., ii. 241, 244, 253, 258, 259

Marguerite, sister of Francois, Duke of Angoulême, proposed marriage between her and Henry, Duke of York, ii. 74, 75, 264

Maria, daughter of Fernando and Isabel, i. 189; her proposed marriage to King Manoel, in place of Isabel, not entertained by him, 286, 302; after the death of her sister, Isabel, is married to Manoel, 339; her large family, ii. 309
Marie, daughter of Charles the Bold, dowry brought by her to King Maximilian, i. 201
Marriage, ceremonials at the, of Prince Arthur and Catharine; power attributed to the Church of Rome for dispensing, ii. 64; vagueness of the laws of, 142, 143
Matienzo, Johannes de, appointed a spy on the conduct of Puebla, i. 318, ii. 9
Maximilian, King of the Romans, his daughter Marguerite engaged to King Charles of France, i. 101; his difficulties in governing the Flemings, 104; revolution against him by the citizens of Bruges and Ghent, 157; his retirement to the Tyrol, *ib.*; his father seeks to punish the rebels, 158; assistance rendered to him in the Breton war by the English troops, 196, 197; his personal appearance and character, 201; dowry of his first wife Marie, *ib.*; seeks the hand of the Duchess Anne, 202; is secretly espoused to Anne, 220; gross deception practised on him by Charles's marriage to Anne, 225–227; attacks Charles, and compels him to yield his frontier towns, 230; encouragement given by him to Richard, Duke of York, 263; his promised help not forthcoming, *ib.*; receives Edmond de la Pole at his court, 343, ii. 115; neglects to perform his promises of assistance to Pole, ii. 118–125; his constant need of money, 119, 122, 125, 126, 255, 259; is compelled to leave his wife in pawn to pay his tavern bills, 255; receives a bribe *from* Henry VII. to banish Pole, ii. 125; his vacillating conduct to Henry and Pole, 126–128; assumes the direction of the education of Don Carlos, 280
Martire, Pietro, his mission to the Soldan, ii. 84, 94, 95; character given by him of Queen Isabel, 216
Mary, Lady, project of her betrothal to Carlos, son of Philip the Fair, ii. 220, 251, 274, 276, 287, 289
Medina del Campo, Fernando and Isabel hold court at, i. 183; arrival of the English ambassadors at, 184, 185; audience of the ambassadors at, 187; bull-fight at, 190; death of Isabel in, ii. 215
Mendoza, Pedro de, Archbishop of Seville and Cardinal of Spain, his opposition to the establishment of the Inquisition in Seville, i. 13, 14; espouses the cause of Isabel against Juana, 54; his influence and wealth, *ib.*; desires to espouse Queen Juana to Juan, the son of Fernando and Isabel, 58; places at the disposal of Fernando, when fleeing from Cordova, his house at Alcala, 64; his offer accepted by Fernando, 65; baptizes the infant Catharine, 71; his noble birth and character, 72; his licentiousness, 73; gives a banquet to the court in honour of the young princess, *ib.*; his contention with the mayor of Alcala, 72–76; sends a band of Moors captured at Malaga to Rome, 88; his remark on the repute of Augustin and Lyra as geographers, 247; his mortal sickness, 282; his troubled death-bed, 282, 283; vainly urges Isabel to marry the Princess Juana to her son Juan, 285
Menou, Pregent, his knowledge of the previous history of Richard, Duke of York, i. 256; honours conferred on him by Henry, 258, 280
Miguel, Don, infant son of Manoel and Isabel, death of, i. 337, ii. 116
Miranda, Martin de, his piratical seizure of English vessels, i. 155
Monarda, battle with the Moors at, ii. 94
Monferris, a Moorish builder, i. 234
Moor, the Last Sigh of the, i. 250
Moors, their bravery and skill in arms, i. 78; Fernando's holy war against them, 78, *et seq.*; dissensions in their ranks, 86; ap-

peal for assistance to the Sultan Bajazet, 86; their chief cities captured, 87, *et seq.*: inhumanity of Fernando and Isabel towards them in the fall of Malaga, 88, 89; their excellence in science and arts, 233, 234; terms granted to them on the capitulation of Granada, 236; kingdom of, in the Alpujarras, *ib.*; their articles of surrender violated by Fernando, 339; risings of, in the Alpujarras, 340; cruelty of Gonsalvo de Cordova to them in Huescar, *ib.*; victories gained by them, ii. 84

Morton, Cardinal, his position at the court of Henry VII., i. 144; numerous offices held by him, 145; supports the Papal see, *ib.*; assistance rendered by him to Malvezzi, 206; labours to procure a peace between England and France, 220, 221; his feelings at the downfall of Granada, 238; is favourable to the marriage of King James with the Princess Margaret, 331

Mosen Ferrer, is sent by Fernando to Philip at Burgos, ii. 262, 263; takes charge of Juana in Tordesillas, 267

Najara, ii. 280

Namur, Edmond de la Pole confined in, ii. 250, 251

Nanfan, Richard, appointed ambassador to the court of Spain, i. 181; is knighted, *ib.*; his voyage to Spain and reception at court, 182. *See* Savage

Nantes, siege of, i. 179; treacherously delivered by D'Albret to the French, 223

Navarre, the Jews fleeing from Aragon find a refuge in, i. 66; importance of its position, 96, 97

Nemours, Duke of, takes the command of the French troops in Italy, ii. 59; his battles with Gonsalvo, 59, 60, 81; obliges Gonsalvo to retreat to Barletta, 89, 110; his defeat and death at Cerignola, 140

Nuptials of Prince Arthur and Princess Catharine, ceremonies of, ii. 1-3

Observant friars, ii. 51, 109

Orleans, Louis, Duke of, rebels against King Charles and seeks shelter from Francois, Duke of Bretagne, i. 176; is taken prisoner by Charles, 194; resentment of D'Albret against him, 199; is restored to the favour of Charles, 212; suggests to Charles to give up Marguerite, daughter of Maximilian, and marry the Duchess Anne, 212, 225; succeeds to the throne of France on the death of Charles, ii. 58 *See* Louis XII.

Orsini, family of, ii. 160, 167, 171

Pacheco, Pedro de, affianced to Isabel of Castille, i. 38; is poisoned, 39

Pacts, fundamental, in Aragon, i. 3, 18, 25, 30

Paredes, leader of the Spanish knights in the tourney at France, ii. 110, 111

Pasqualigo, his description of the personal appearance and abilities of Henry VIII., ii. 296, 298

'Pastance with good company,' a ballad said to have been composed by Henry VIII., ii. 300

Paul II. denounces the study of pagan authors, i. 3, 47

Payne, John, Bishop of Meath, his early friendship with Kildare, i. 270; his subsequent enmity, 270, 271

Pecock, Bishop, his denunciation of the Wycliffites, i. 155, 156; his *Repressor*, 221

Perpignan, port of, ceded to the French, i. 37; importance of its possession to the French, 167, 191

Philip the Fair, son of King Maximilian, one of the candidates for the hand of the Duchess Anne, i. 198; his marriage with the Princess Juana, 293-295; his sympathy with Richard, Duke of York, 264, 271; on the death of Isabel, the wife of Manoel, styles himself Prince of Castille, 338; his interview with Henry VII. at Calais, 342; goes to Spain to receive formal recognition of his rights, 116, 117; his detention in Castille by Isabel, *ib.*; Fernando's treatment of him and Juana, 136; departs

from Spain for Flanders, 138; visits France, and his reception there, 139; signs a treaty with Louis of France, at Lyons, *ib.*; is driven by a storm to England, 249; his conferences with Henry, 251; agrees to surrender Pole, 253; his departure from England, 254; lands at Coruña, 258; his reception, *ib.*; his meeting with Fernando at Villa Fafila, 260, 261; goes to Burgos, 262; his sudden death, 263; is buried at Santa Clara, 267
Phœbus, King of Navarre, Fernando desires to marry him to his daughter Juana, i. 97; his death, 97, ii. 256
Pina, Ruy de, his instructions as agent to the King of Portugal, i. 100
Pius III., Pope, his sudden death, ii. 171
Plantagenet, Lady Anne, her marriage with Thomas, Earl of Surrey, i. 361
Pole, Edmond de la, Earl of Suffolk, King Henry's treatment of him, i. 325; on the death of Edward, Earl of Warwick, he flees from England, 342; takes refuge at the court of Maximilian, 343; his position to the English crown on the death of Prince Arthur, ii. 115; promises of help against Henry made to him by Maximilian, 118–120; Maximilian receives a bribe from Henry to deliver him up, 125; Maximilian's vacillating treatment of him, 126, 128; his troubles in Aachen, 242; seeks shelter from the Duke of Gueldres, 243; at the instance of James, King of Scotland, is imprisoned by the Duke in the fort of Wageningen, 243; negotiates terms with King Henry, 250, 251; is surrendered to Henry, 255; is lodged in the Tower, *ib.*
Pole, Edward de la, Archdeacon of Richmond, Yorkshire, i. 324
Pole, Humphrey de la, Prebendary of St. Paul's, i. 324
Pole, John de la, is chosen by Richard III. as heir presumptive to the throne, i. 323; appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 324; joins Simnel, 325; is killed, *ib.*
Pole, Richard de la, left by his brother Edmond in Aachen as a hostage for his debts, ii. 243; his life at the court of France, 311
Pole, Sir Richard, chamberlain of Prince Arthur's household at Ludlow Castle, ii. 7, 15; communicates to King Henry the intelligence of Prince Arthur's death, 49, 51
Pole, William, appointed by Henry VIII. special attendant on Queen Catharine, ii. 322
Pole, William de la, his imprisonment in the Tower, ii. 123
Politiano, i. 2
Portugal, position of, during the conference of Puebla and the royal commissioners, i. 164, 165
Poynings, Sir Edward, deputy lord-lieutenant of Ireland, his capture of Kildare, i. 266–269
Preachers, Order of the. *See* Dominicans.
Puebla, Doctor Roderigo de, employed as secret agent by Fernando to King Henry of England, i. 108–112; his instructions, 112, 113; his stay at Coruña, 148; witnesses the seizure of two English barks by Pedro de Segura, *ib.*; his manner of life in London, 149, ii. 9; endeavours to settle matters of trade and peace between England and Spain, i. 151; is appointed ambassador and receives instructions from Fernando to conclude a match between Catharine and Arthur, 151; his reception and treatment by King Henry, 153; services rendered by him to Spanish merchants, 154, 155; is presented to the Queen, 158; his account to Fernando of Prince Arthur, 158, 159; his conference with the commissioners on the articles of marriage and peace, 160–168; his return to Spain, 181; his instructions from Fernando as to the marriage of the Duchess Anne, 218, 219; his letters from Fernando before and after the defeat of Richard, Duke of York, 277, 278; appointed by the Pope his ambassador in London, 279; Fernando's letter to him on Henry's joining the Holy League, 305;

attempts to palm off a false princess Juana on James, King of Scotland, 312–315; his jealousy of Ayala, 320; Matienzo and Londoño appointed spies on his conduct, ii. 9; his covetousness, 10–13; importunes Henry to discharge an incurred debt, 11; his intrigues with King Henry respecting Catharine's plate and jewels, 11–13; Fernando's letter to him on the death of Prince Arthur, 57, 62; his letter to Fernando on the position of the Princess Catharine, 63; his communications to Queen Isabel on the conduct of Estrada, 88, 89; hints the possibility of a marriage between King Henry and the Princess Catharine, 130, 133; his treatment by Catharine, 226; opposes the proposed meeting of King Henry and the Archduke Philip, 244–246; Catharine's hatred of him, 246, 272; his description of the personal appearance of Prince Henry, 273; is superseded by Don Guter, 275

Puebla. Gonsalvo de, witnesses the marriage of Henry VIII. and Catharine, ii. 320

Querdes, Maréchal de, attack of his troops by English soldiers, i. 197; retires before the English, 211

Quirini, Vincenzo, his varied accomplishments, ii. 235; does not believe in the charge of insanity in Juana, 239, 250; accompanies Philip the Fair to England, 249

Ratcliffe, Robert, ii. 2, 3

Rayer, the court jester, founds St. Bartholomew's hospital, ii. 108

Rede, Sir Bartholomew, lord mayor of London, present at the nuptials of Arthur and Catharine, ii. 1, 2; invites the Scotch commissioners to a civic feast at Crosby Place, 40; founds a free school, 40, 41

Rennes, Breton camp at, i. 177; defeat of the Bretons at, 180; is occupied by the French, *ib.*

Rhodes, Knights of, i. 132

Richmond Palace, Christmas-tide at, ii. 113; visits of Catharine to, 221; meeting of Catharine and her sister Juana at, 249; Henry's repudiation of Catharine at, 231, 305

Rivers, Earl, assistance rendered by him to Fernando at the siege of Loja, i. 82, 116, 232; his death at Rennes, 180

Rojas, Francisco de, sent by Fernando to the court of the Duchess Anne, i. 202; his intrigues, 219; is instructed to obtain from the Pope a bull permitting Catharine to espouse the Prince of Wales, ii. 155, 173, 176; is thwarted by Julius II., 184, 185

Rojas, Maria de, the favourite maid of honour to Catharine, i. 347

Rome, Church of, low estimate of, in the days of Henry VII., i. 156; power of, to dispense with marriage penalties, ii. 64, 148

Rossillon, duchy of, ceded to the French as the price for assistance rendered in quelling the Catalans, i. 57; its importance to the French, 166, 191; Charles is compelled to restore it to Fernando, 230

Rovere, Clemente della, nephew of Julius II., receives from Henry VII. the Protectorate of England, ii. 193

Rovere, Giuliano della, his opposition to the Borgias, ii. 164, 168; his ambition to fill the Papal chair, 168, 171; is elected Pope on the death of Pius III., 172; assumes the name of Julius II., 173. *See* Julius II.

Royal Nun, the. *See* Juana.

Rozmital, Leo von, on the court of Edward IV., i. 117; his account of relics of saints in England, 124

Sacred College at Venice, resolutions arrived at by the cardinals in the, ii. 168, 171

Sagudino, his account of the ability of Henry VIII., ii. 297, 298, 299

Salamanca, death of Prince Juan at, i. 299; legal ability of the professors of its University, ii. 67, 135

Salami, his poetical description of Andalus, i. 77, 78

Salazar, Martina de, maid of honour

to the Princess Catharine, i. 347, ii. 49
Salisbury Court, betrothal of Catharine and Prince Henry at, ii. 191
Salsas, fort of, ceded to the French, i. 57; its importance to Spain, 166, 167, 191; is menaced by the Spanish, ii. 157
Sanchez, Fernando, paymaster general, ranked among the Friends of Light, i. 4, 22, 201
Sanchez, Gabriel, lord treasurer, ranked among the Friends of Light, i. 4, 22, 26, 28; his Hebrew descent, 5
San Ildefonso, college of, in Alcala, i. 65
Santa Clara, in Coimbra, Queen Juana confined in the convent of, i. 60, 220, *et passim*
Santa Cruz, i. 3, 47
Santa Fé, camp of, i. 238, 240
Santa Hermandad, objects of, i. 93; revival of, by Fernando and Isabel, *ib.*
Santiago, shrine of St. James at, i. 83, 111; pilgrimage of Fernando and Isabel to, 83
Sardinia, protests against the establishment of the Inquisition, i. 121
Sarmiento, Pedro de, Fernando and Isabel denounced by him, ii. 216
Savage, Thomas, doctor of civil law, his high position in the court of Henry VII., i. 150; is appointed one of the commissioners to negotiate a treaty between England and Spain, 151; is nominated ambassador, with Nanfan, to the court of Spain, 181; his voyage to Spain, 182; arrives at Burgos, 183; at Valladolid, 184; his reception at Medina, *ib.*; his audiences with Fernando and Isabel, 187–189; sees the Princess Catharine in her nursery, 190; articles of the treaty arranged with Fernando, 191, 192; appointed archbishop of York, 359, ii. 88; considers Catharine to be entitled, as Arthur's widow, to receive the rents settled on her, ii. 88
Savonarola, Girolamo, a Dominican monk, his power and learning, i. 11; is numbered amongst the Friends of Light, *ib.*; his sermons on the conduct of the Pope, 273; is burnt by Pope Alexander VI., ii. 161
Savoy Palace, its history, ii. 106; project of Henry VII. for converting it into a hospital for the poor, 106, 109, 276
Saxe, John, builds the hospital of St. Antony's Church, ii. 40
Scotland, and its inhabitants in the reign of James IV., ii. 22, 28; its towns, abbeys, and universities, 27, 28
Scott, Edward, an agent of Henry VII. at the court of Rome, ii. 191
Scone, sacred stone of, in Westminster Abbey, ii. 103
Sebert, King of the East Saxons, church on site of Westminster Abbey erected by him, ii. 103
Segovia, palace of, Queen Isabel's residence at, ii. 153; articles of marriage signed at, 186
Segura, Pedro de, seizes two English vessels, i. 148
Seo, La, cathedral, assassination of the inquisitor Arbues in, i. 27; shameful punishment of Don Jaime in, 69
Sepulveda, Juan de, sent by Fernando to the court of England to act as a spy on Puebla, i. 151, 152; joins in the conference respecting the marriage articles between Prince Henry and the Princess Catharine, 160–163; conveys to Fernando the articles of marriage, 169
Seville, establishment of the Inquisition in, i. 13; persecution of the Jews in, *ib.*; floods and pestilence in, 61, 62; tower of, 235
Sforza, Ludovico, his confinement in an iron cage, 255
Shakespeare, his use of the word 'Liberal,' i. 155, 156
Shaw, John, lord mayor of London, knighted by Henry VII., ii. 39
Sheen, court held at, i. 357; its name changed into Richmond, *ib.*
Sherborne, Dean, envoy from Henry VII. to the Papal court, ii. 176, 177, 192, 211
Simancas, papers at, i. 258

Simnel, his personation of Edward, Earl of Warwick, i. 323
Sixtus, Pope, his reluctance to grant to the inquisitors the powers of life and death, i. 14, 15; is induced by Isabel to grant the desired powers to Torquemada, 15, 17
Slaves, trade in, ii. 124
Smith, Bishop of Lincoln, is denounced as a caitiff in Warbeck's proclamation, i. 309, ii. 7; his doubts respecting the legality of the marriage ceremony at Bewdley Manor, i. 352; appointed president of the council at Ludlow Castle, ii. 7, 15
Sperandeo, Juan de, hired by Abadia to assassinate Arbues, i. 26; attacks Arbues in the cathedral of La Seo, i. 27
St. Bartholomew, priory of, ii. 107; hospital of, 108
St. Catharine, hospital of, ii. 108
St. James, his shrine at Santiago, i. 83
St. John, priory of, history of, ii. 36–38; Scottish ambassadors lodged at, 38; enlarged by Henry VII., 105, 107
St. Omer, proposed meeting of Henry and Philip at, ii. 242, 245, 246
St. Paul's Cathedral, marriage of the Princess Catharine and Prince Arthur at, i. 371, 372; Edmond de la Pole burnt in effigy at, ii. 73
Stirling, royal court of Scotland held at, ii. 5, 21, 22, 23
Stuart, Lady Isobel, and James IV. of Scotland, ii. 34
Surrey, Thomas, Earl of, his devotion to the House of York, i. 360; his imprisonment in the Tower, 361; is set free by Henry, *ib.*; honours conferred upon him and his family, 361, 362; his reply to the challenge of James IV., ii. 31; one of the commission appointed to arrange the marriage contract of James IV. with the Princess Margeret, 38; one of the council to consider the Case of Conscience, 311; is appointed marshal by Henry VIII., 324
Swit, John, how punished for denouncing ecclesiastical censures, i. 127, 156, ii. 121
Sylvestro de Giglis. *See* Giglis.

Talbot, Sir Gilbert, sent to the Pope on a special mission, ii. 191
Tarentum, duchy of, given as a bribe to Borgia, ii. 7
Tendilla, ii. 280
Toro, Cortes at, request Fernando to act as Regent of Castille, ii. 237
Torquemada, Tomas de, head of the Order of the Dominicans in Spain, i. 2, 11; his noble birth and ascetic habits, 11; as confessor of Isabel, extorts from her a pledge to root out heresy from Spain, *ib.*; establishes the Inquisition in Seville, 13; his abuse of the powers vested in him by the Pope, 15; lessens the powers of the Franciscans, *ib.*; establishes the Inquisition throughout Castille, 17; is appointed by the Pope Inquisitor-general of Castille, *ib.*; extends the Inquisition to Aragon, 21; deputes Inglar and Arbues to carry out the Inquisition in Aragon, 22; his tests for the discovery of secret Jews, 24, 25; his appeal to Fernando and Isabel against the Jews, 243
Toledo, strength of the Franciscans in, i. 12; establishment of the Inquisition in, 16; Fernando's plot to marry his daughter Catharine to Henry, Duke of York, concocted at, ii. 63
Tournament in honour of Prince Arthur and the Princess Catharine, ii. 4
Tower of London, prisoners in, Earl of Kildare, i. 269; Earl of Warwick, 323, 334; Richard, Duke of York, 332; Thomas, Earl of Surrey, 361; Courtney, ii. 123, 255; William de la Pole, 251; Edmond de la Pole, 255; Elizabeth the Good gives birth to a child in, 113; death of Elizabeth and her child in, 114; state ceremonial in, before the coronation of Henry and Catharine, 324
Trana, combat at, between eleven Spanish and eleven French knights, ii. 111

Trevisano, his description of Scotland and its people, ii. 23
Triana, Dominicans establish the Inquisition in, i. 13, ii. 65
Tudela, refuge found in, by the Friends of Light, i. 91
Tyler, Wat, his destruction of Savoy Palace, ii. 106
Tyrell, a Yorkist plotter, his seizure and death, ii. 123
Tyrrell, the regicide, honours conferred on him by Henry VII., i. 258, 280

Uranzo, a Friend of Light, turns king's evidence, but is hung by Fernando, i. 68
Uranso, Vidal de, mortally wounds the Inquisitor Arbues in the cathedral of La Seo, i. 27
Urrea, Jean de, his scholarly attainments, i. 6; is a Friend of Light, 7

Valentia, its protest against the Inquisition, i. 21
Valladolid, Inquisition established in, i. 20; marriage of Fernando and Isabel at, by a spurious Papal dispensation, 39, ii. 162, 279; arrival of the English ambassadors at, i. 182; banns of marriage between Henry VII. and Marguerite of Austria proclaimed at, ii. 258, 259; Fernando's life at, with his second wife Germaine, 279
Vanozia, Signora, the mistress of Pope Alexander VI., ii. 160
Vatican, ii. 198–202
Velasco, constable of Castille, ii. 238, 260, 280
Venice, campanile of, i. 234; enmity of, to the Borgias, ii. 165, 168, 182
Verre, M. de, receives bribes from Fernando, ii. 238
Villa Fafila, meeting of Fernando and Philip at, ii. 260, 261
Villena, Marquis of, ii. 281

Wales, its union with England, ii. 104
Walters, his attachment to Richard, Duke of York, i. 260, 261, 262, 326; is, with his son, taken prisoner, and hung at Tyburn, i. 333
Warbeck, Perkin. *See* Richard, Duke of York
Warham, Bishop, his opposition to the Spanish proposal of a match between the Princess Catharine and Prince Henry, ii. 80, 143, *et seq.*; receives instructions from Henry to demand from Maximilian the banishment of Pole, 122; is appointed one of the commissioners to consider Isabel's proposals respecting Catharine's second marriage, 142; considers that the Pope has no power to give dispensation in such a case, 146, 150; succeeds Deane an archbishop of Canterbury, 181; withdraws his opposition to the match of Catharine and Henry, 314; seals the grant of lands and rents to Catharine prior to her marriage with Henry, 323
Warwick, Earl of, his imprisonment in the Tower, i. 323; his trial, condemnation, and execution, 333, 334
Waterford, failure of Richard Duke of York at, i. 270
Westminster Abbey, churches built on its site, ii. 103; historic associations of, 103, 104; Henry VII.'s chapel in, 104; coronation of Catharine and Henry in, 326
Weston, John, Prior of St. John in Clerkenwell, influence possessed by him over Henry VII., i. 150; appointed one of the commissioners to settle matters of dispute between England and Spain, 151
Willoughby de Brooke, Lord, appointed to the command of the troops against France, i. 204; takes Quincamp and Moncontour, 209; receives the Princess Catharine on her arrival in England, 348, 349
Winchester, birth of Prince Arthur at, i. 138; Lady chapel built at, ii. 102
Windsor Castle, royal party at, ii. 222; visit of Philip and Juana to, 249
Worcester cathedral, Prince Arthur buried in, ii. 69, 70; his chapel in, 70, 101

Ximenes, Francisco, establishes his printing-press at Alcala, i. 65; succeeds Mendoza as Primate of Spain, 290; his learning and austere life, 291; his mode of dealing with the Mohammedans, 292, ii. 281; his violent measures towards them, i. 340; Fernando's anger at his severity, 341; arranges a meeting between Fernando and Philip, ii. 260

York, Richard, Duke of (titular), writes a letter to Isabel, i. 253–255; recognised by the Duchess Margaret as King Edward's son, 254, 260, 261; his appearance and accomplishments, 255; tales of his early life, 255–257; his residence at royal courts, 261, 262; his unsuccessful invasion of Kent, 262–267; treatment of his captured troops, 267; failure of his attempt on the coasts of Ireland, 267–270; seeks refuge at the court of James, King of Scotland, 306, 307; marries the King's cousin, Lady Catharine Gordon, 308; enters England, and issues a proclamation as Richard the Fourth, 309; denounces the King's council as low-born caitiffs, *ib.*; his tenderness, 310, 311; retreats from England, 311; is forsaken by King James, and leaves Scotland, 321; is received at Cork by Walters, 326; escapes from Ireland, 327; arrives in Cornwall, 329; his supporters routed at Exeter, *ib.*; seeks refuge in Bewley Abbey, 330; confesses he is 'Osbek,' 331; is taken to London and lodged in the King's palace, *ib.*; endeavours to escape, is taken, and placed in the Tower, 332; induces his fellow-prisoner, the Earl of Warwick, to attempt to escape, 333; is hung at Tyburn, *ib.*

Zacuto, professor of mathematics and astronomy in the University of Zaragoza, a Friend of Light, i. 6, 235; when expelled from Spain, finds refuge in Portugal, 284; is obliged by Manoel to leave Portugal, 297

Zamora, Alonzo, a Moorish writer, i. 235, 236

Zaragoza, Cortes held in, i. 4; its temples and shrines, 7; is a resort of pilgrims, *ib.*; its fierce mobs and superstitious pilgrims, 20; excitement produced in, by the murder of the Inquisitor Arbues, 28; Fernando's residence in, 90; its opposition to the establishment of the Inquisition, 91

Zoraya, the wife of the Caliph Hassan, i. 79, 80, 249

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